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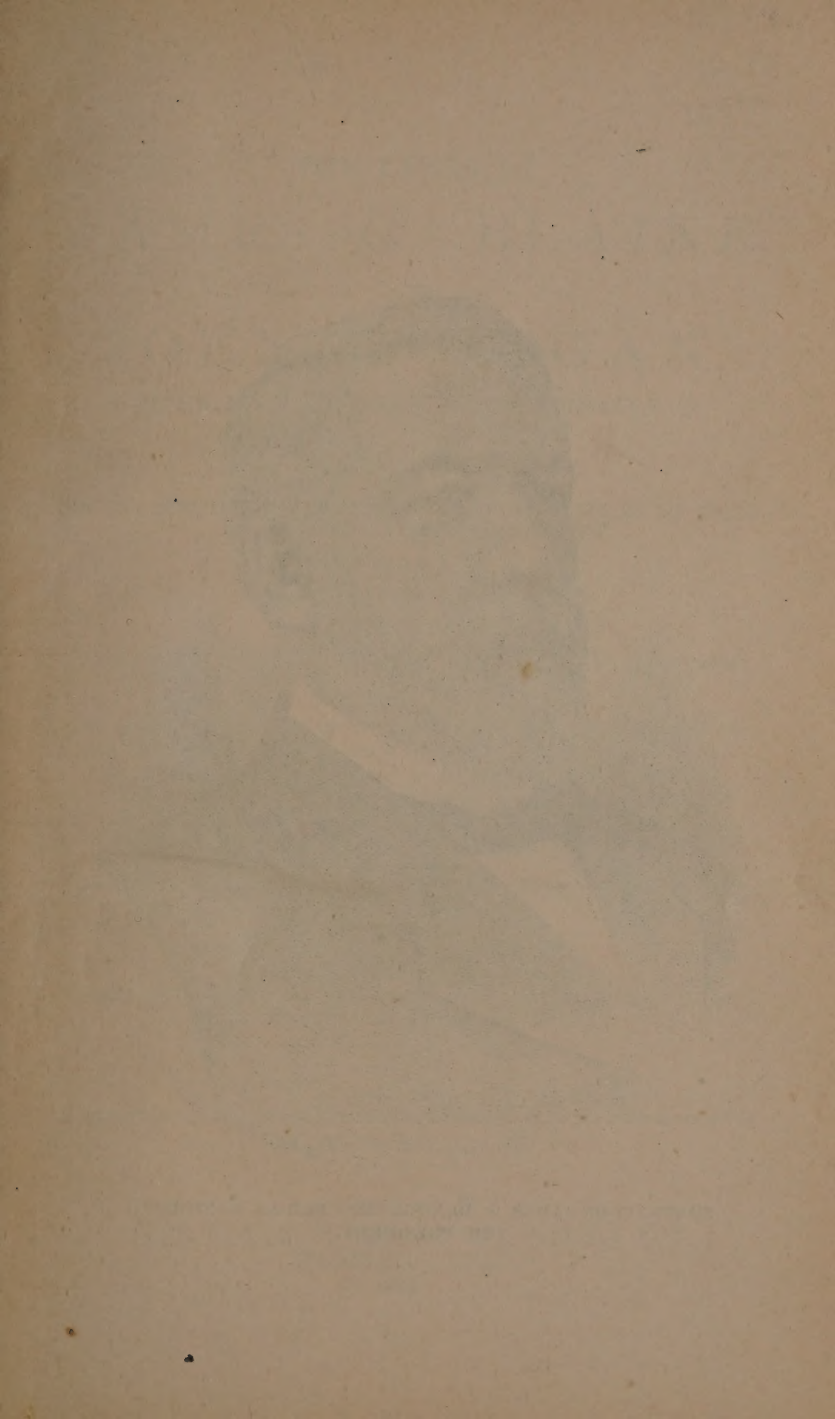

PORTRAIT OF JAMES G. BLAINE, REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT.

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1884

THE LIVES OF

JAMES G. BLAINE

AND

JOHN A. LOGAN,

REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES OF

1884.

AN AUTHORIZED, AUTHENTIC, AND COMPLETE HISTORY OF THEIR PUBLIC CAREERS AND PRIVATE LIFE

FROM

BOYHOOD TO THE PRESENT DATE,

REPLETE WITH

INCIDENTS, ANECDOTES, GRAPHIC PEN-PICTURES, AND THRILLING HISTORY.

CONTAINING ALSO

THE COMPLETE HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY FROM ITS RISE TO THE PRESENT TIME; THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES AND ITS FORMATION; A COMPLETE SUMMARY OF THE LIVES AND DEEDS OF ALL THE PRESIDENTS, FROM WASHINGTON TO ARTHUR; TOGETHER WITH OTHER IMPORTANT INFORMATION.

THE MOST VALUABLE COMPENDIUM OF POLITICAL HISTORY EVER PUBLISHED.

BY

THOMAS W. KNOX,

Author of "Camp-Fire and Cotton-Field," "Overland through Asia," "Backsheesh," "Underground," etc., etc.

SUPERBLY ILLUSTRATED WITH MAGNIFICENT PORTRAITS AND FULL-PAGE ENGRAVINGS

By T. W. WILLIAMS.

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TO

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY,

WHICH HAS

CONTROLLED THE DESTINIES OF A GREAT NATION

FOR A QUARTER OF A CENTURY,

AND SAFELY GUIDED IT IN THE GREATEST ERA OF PROGRESS

THE WORLD HAS EVER KNOWN,

THIS VOLUME

IS

PATRIOTICALLY INSCRIBED.

PREFACE.

THE kindly reception accorded by Press and Public to the Author's previous efforts in the making of books, has led to the preparation of the present volume. It was contemplated before the Chicago Convention had placed the names of Blaine and Logan in nomination for the suffrages of the Republican voters of the land, and the preliminaries of the work were undertaken long previous to the memorable sixth of June. A portion of the material was already collected, and the balance has been obtained since that date. It has been the Author's aim to make a volume which should contain a complete history of the lives of the two men who are now so prominently before the public, together with other matter bearing upon the great political questions of the day.

This being his object, he has sought his materials among the opponents of Blaine and Logan as well as among their supporters, and he hopes to be regarded as an impartial historian. If it should be considered, among his Democratic or Independent friends, that he has regarded the subjects of these biographies with an eye too kindly, he begs them to remember that his affil-

iations have been with the party of liberty and progress since the days of Fremont and Dayton, and that he is an earnest believer in the principles set forth in the Republican Platform of 1884. He believes in the thorough Republicanism and the equally thorough Americanism of Blaine and Logan, and thus believing, he naturally regards them through a glass less opaque than the one commonly used by Democratic observers.

The Author's thanks are due to the many gentlemen who have facilitated the collection of materials for the biographies of the Republican candidates; to his assistants who have aided in collating and transcribing the narratives of the public and personal events that make up the lives of Blaine and Logan; to his publishers for the energy and zeal with which their share of the work has been pushed; and furthermore, and in advance, to the many thousands of intelligent men throughout the country, whom he fondly hopes to number among his readers.

T. W. K.

New York, June, 1884.

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CHAPTER I.

REPUBLICAN PROGRESS. EVENTS LEADING TO THE FORMATION OF A GREAT PARTY.

Growth of the Country in the Past Thirty Years.—Slavery at the Time of the Revolution —Toleration of the System.—British Proclamations.—Slavery Preserved by a Yankee Invention.—Whitney's Cotton-Gin.—Potentiality of Individual Action.—The Missouri Compromise.—The War With Mexico, and Its Results.—Admission of California.—What the South Threatened.—Features of the Compromise of 1850.—The Battle for Freedom in Kansas.—Song of the Emigrants.—"Westward the Course of Empire."

The history of the Republican Party, since it came into existence, is practically the history of the nation for the last thirty years. Since that party was organized we have seen our population increased to more than double its former number; we have seen the destruction of African Slavery, with all its catalogue of evils; we have passed through a war which jeopardized the safety of the Nation, but resulted in the establishment of the Government on a firmer basis than it had ever known before; and we have witnessed a degree of progress in

the arts and industries of our national life, greater than any similar period has ever experienced.

The railway and the telegraph have been extended from end to end of the United States, and the resources of the country developed with a rapidity undreamed of in the days of Andrew Jackson and his compeers. Manufacturing and agricultural industries have more than doubled the nation's wealth, and given her a foremost rank as the source from which the whole civilized globe may be supplied; our seaports have been filled with shipping from all lands, and between our Atlantic coast and the great harbors of Europe there are fleets of steamers engaged in exchanging our products for those of other lands. Our commerce extends to all parts of the globe, and our influence among the nations is increasing year by year.

At the time of the Revolution, which made us independent of England and laid the foundation of the Republic as we see it to-day, the slavery question was not regarded as of great importance for the future. The institution had existed throughout the whole country, but it had practically disappeared in some of the Northern States and was destined to disappear before many years in others. The framers of the Constitution had little fear that the system would be of long duration, and some of the founders of the Republic predicted that it would altogether cease to exist within

the next fifty years. There was then a population of three millions; about half a million were slaves, and it was argued that where the institution numbered only one-sixth of the inhabitants of the country there could be no danger of its long continuance.

All the Colonies tolerated slavery, but the system was mainly confined to the Southern states, where it gave considerable trouble to the patriots engaged in the struggle for liberty. British governors and generals in the field issued proclamations offering freedom to the slaves, and it was not long before the news reached the black men on the plantations, and in every other place where they existed.

Thousands of the negroes took advantage of these proclamations and fled to the British camp, where they were immediately set free and received the promised protection. They became of great use to the British commanders in showing the roads through the country, and otherwise serving as guides and spies. There were constant fears of an insurrection among the negroes on the plantations, and the movements of the Continental Armies in the Southern States were often hindered by the necessity of providing against the possibility of such disturbances. The New England States, with a population much smaller than that of Virginia, Georgia, and the Carolinas, had twice as many men in the field, and the history of the Revolution reveals very plainly the

fears of the slave-holders, and their helplessness in the time of war.

But the predictions or hopes of some at least of the framers of the Constitution were not realized. Not only did slavery fail to die out but it increased in strength, and whenever new territory was added to the country the slave-holders claimed the right to go there with their human property. It was a long and earnest struggle on both sides, but there was not the same division or parties that arose in later years.

The slave-trade was brought to an end in 1808, at least in all its legal features, though several cargoes of negroes were surreptitiously brought into the country after that time. The suppression of the traffic was thought by many to be the beginning of the end, and so it might have been but for the invention of a Northern school-teacher, one Eli Whitney.

What had the Northern school-teacher to do with it?

The South could produce cotton in enormous quantities, but the process of separating the lint from the seed was one that required a great deal of labor. It was estimated that a single person could only separate a pound of lint from the seed in a single day; therefore the process was unprofitable, since cotton at the price thus necessitated could not be sold in competition with wool.

Mr. Whitney was an inventive genius who went south soon after he had graduated from college, and sought

employment in teaching school. Learning of the value of cotton and the difficulty of its preparation, he set to work to devise a machine that would take the place of hand-labor. In a few weeks he completed it, and, in partnership with another northern man, began the manufacture of the cotton-gin.

Great events often turn upon the acts of individuals!

An English writer has said that the feet of a pretty peasant girl, twinkling in a brook, attracted the attention of a Norman Duke, and made her the mother of William The Conquerer. Had she not thus fascinated the founder of a line of kings there would have been no invasion of England, no defeat at Hastings, no union of Saxon and Norman, no United Kingdom, no British Empire.

Perhaps, if Eli Whitney had not spent the winter of 1792 in the house of Mrs. Greene of Georgia, there would have been no cotton-gin, no increase in the value of the cotton product, no enormous demand for slave-labor, no Missouri Compromise, no aggressions of the slave-power, no Republican party, and no civil war for the destruction or the preservation of the Union.

The invention of Whitney made valuable millions of acres that had been lying waste, and increased the price of slaves more than tenfold in the localities where their labor could be made most useful in the cotton field. The whole South was enriched by the invention, and where there had been only a few thousand bales of cotton made

every year before the cotton-gin came into use, there were many thousand bales annually turned out in the early part of the century. It was estimated that in 1793 there were about five thousand bales of cotton made in the then United States, while in 1859, the year before the war, the product was more than five millions of bales, being three-fourths in weight and seven-eighths in value of all the cotton produced in the whole world.

See what the brain of a single man could accomplish!

Following the invention of the cotton-gin came the desire to extend the system of slavery wherever the land was favorable to the cultivation of cotton. The Louisiana purchase, and the addition of its territory to our own, gave the opportunity for the formation of new Slave States, and naturally roused the hostility of those who desired the end of the system of forced labor.

The agitation growing out of this state of affairs brought about the Missouri compromise of 1820, by which slavery was forbidden to go into any new territory north of the parallel of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes. Then followed legislation in various forms and at different times; but the question of slavery was not made a distinct line between the great political parties until some time later.

The Democrats were generally ardent sympathizers with the slave-holders, while the Whigs were opposed to them, but in many of the party differences, the tariff and

the question of appropriations for internal improvements were most prominent. Of course the dispute about slavery was not at any time forgotten, and almost invariably came up through an effort of the South to obtain fresh concessions in their behalf.

The war with Mexico was denounced through the north as a war for the extension of slavery, and it resulted in adding Texas to the list of Slave States, but it gave in addition a large area on the Pacific Coast that was destined to be the home of freedom. The acquisition of California was one of the results of the war with Mexico, and so was the territory then and now known as New Mexico. The hero of the war, General Zachary Taylor, was elected president in 1848, and the event was due more to his persistent silence on the question of slavery in the territories than to any outspoken sentiments on the subject.

The convention that nominated him did not put forward any distinctive platform throughout the whole canvass; it was impossible to draw any positive utterances on this subject from the Whigs, the party that supported him. The opposition was divided between General Lewis Cass, nominated by the Democrats, and Martin Van Buren, the nominee of the Free Soil Party. Taylor was successful by a plurality instead of a majority; some of the southern States refused to support him, but, on the other hand, he received the votes of New York and Penn-

sylvania, which have always been considered as holding the balance of power in presidential elections.

The election led to the separation of many Whigs and Democrats from their parties, and their union with the Free Soil Party which was every year gaining in strength, both morally and numerically.

Soon after the inauguration of Taylor as president of of the United States there was an excitement throughout the country over the discovery of gold in California. Thousands of adventurers were flocking to the Pacific Coast from all parts of the country, and it was evident that California would soon be asking for admission as a Sovereign State.

Should California be slave or free?

The people of the new commonwealth decided the question without waiting for Congressional action. A convention was called to form a constitution and organize a local government, and without any delay it decided that slavery should forever be excluded from the future State. Delegates were sent to Washington to ask for the admission of California into the Union, and the request roused all the bitterness of party politics which had been slumbering for several years.

There were threats that the South would secede from the Union, and many persons feared that the country was on the verge of civil war. The fierce debates resulted in a compromise, and a committee of thirteen was

appointed to draft a bill which should settle the differences between the North and South. It was finally reported and passed after a discussion which lasted four months; the bill is known in history as the *Compromise Act* of 1850, and also, by reason of several distinct measures that were included in it, as "The Omnibus Bill."

The most important stipulations of the compromise of 1850, were that California should be admitted into the Union as a Free State, that all the region east of it to the Rocky Mountains should form the Territory of Utah without mention of slavery, and that New Mexico should be formed into a Territory under the same conditions. Then it was further provided that the slave-trade should be abolished in the District of Columbia; but as an offset to this came the fugitive slave law which provided that slaves escaping from bondage into any of the northern States should be arrested and delivered up to their masters.

This was the measure that created great dissatisfaction both north and south and led to much bitterness of feeling. It may be regarded more than any one political enactment as the event which led to the formation of the Republican party.

President Taylor died in little more than a year after entering upon the duties of his high office, and was succeeded by Millard Fillmore. Nothing of importance occurred during the administration of the latter, but it was the calm that preceded the storm.

In 1852 Franklin Pierce was elected, and the first part of his administration was chiefly occupied with foreign complications which had no serious result. Later on came the Kansas-Nebraska bill, which threw the newly organized Territories of Kansas and Nebraska open to the admission of slaves. It was virtually a repeal of the compromise measures of 1850, as it allowed the people of those Territories to say whether they would have slavery or not without regard to the line of demarkation of 36° 30′.

Congress and the people were taken by surprise, and if the proposers of the measure could have foreseen the trouble it would create it is doubtful if they would have made the venture. There was a storm of indignation through the whole north; public meetings were held in almost every village and the measure was severely denounced by all except the sympathizers with slavery. So many remonstrances were made and sent to the Senate that it looked at one time as though the measure would be defeated; but finally it became a law and the new Territory was opened to the owners of slaves. Nebraska was so far to the north that no effort was undertaken to make it a slave state and the battle was mainly confined to Kansas.

Those who are familiar with the events of thirty years ago do not need to be told how emigration aid societies were formed through the north, and how great sums of

money were raised to secure the settlement of Kansas by a population that would be in favor of freedom. There were memorable events in those days, and eloquent voices and gifted pens were enlisted in the cause. Those who witnessed the departure of the first emigrant society from Boston will remember the excitement which prevailed through the city, as the little band of settlers marched to the railway station where they sang the words of Whittier which had been written for the occasion:

"We cross the prairies as of old
Our fathers crossed the sea;
To make the West, as they the East,
The homestead of the free."

As soon as it became known in the slave states that the people of the east were determined to settle Kansas with men and women who believed in universal liberty, a movement was begun for the opposite purpose. Societies were formed in Missouri with the avowed object of settling the Territory with slave-holders or sympathizers with slavery, and scores of men went there to take possession of lands and enter pre-emption claims.

The work was done with very little pretence of honesty, many of the claimants returning to Missouri as soon as they had made their entries and filed the necessary papers at the land offices. "Blue Lodges," "Social Bands," "Sons of the South," and similar societies in the interest of slavery, sprung into existence and the colonization was active.

Thus was begun the struggle for freedom or slavery in Kansas; its history would fill hundreds of pages of this volume, and many of them would need to be written in blood. Emigrants from the north were murdered by roving bands of Missourians; villages were laid waste and their inhabitants massacred in cold blood; men were placed in boats without oars and set adrift on the Missouri river for no other offence than that they were from northern States. Others were tarred and feathered, and otherwise maltreated for similar reasons.

When the first election was held several hundreds of Missourians crossed the border, voted at the polls as citizens of Kansas, and returned immediately to their homes when the voting was over. In this and other ways Kansas was made to appear to be in favor of slavery; her Free-State inhabitants made an indignant protest and a new election was ordered. For a time there was a serious conflict of authority between the people and the office-holders; the former were mostly from the north and in favor of freedom, while the latter were in sympathy with the slave-holders.

The city of Lawrence was attacked and burned by an armed force from Missouri and other southern tates; Osawatomie in the southern part of the Territory suffered the same fate; and it appeared at one time as though the whole of the embryo state would be laid to waste.

The troubles in Kansas continued through 1855 and 1856, and in the latter year conventions were held for the nomination of candidates for the presidency. The Tariff Question was of secondary importance, while that of slavery occupied the foremost rank. Long before the first of the conventions was called together it was evident to all careful observers that great changes would be made in the positions of the parties in the impending contest.

CHAPTER II.

FORMATION AND GROWTH OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

Dissolution of the Whig Party.—The "Know-Nothings" and Their Principles.—Origin of the Republican Party.—The National Conventions. — Election of 1856. — Abraham Lincoln. — Dramatic Incident at Bloomington.—A Thrilling Event in Political Organization.—Harmonizing Differences.—Brooks and Sumner.—The Dred Scott Decision.—The Charleston Convention.—How the Democratic Party was Sundered.—The Election of Lincoln.—The War and Its Results.—Recent History of the Party.—The Nation's Progress Under Republican Rule.

The old Whig party had been dissolved through the action of its leaders in adopting the principles of slavery, and new parties were in process of organization. At many of the elections in the northern states in 1854 and '55, they appeared at the polls in considerable force, and in some of the States the local elections were carried by them.

One was known as the American party, and also as the "Know-Nothings"; it was opposed to foreign influence, and had an especial dread of Catholicism, and in

order to counteract the power of that religion, the leaders had deemed it expedient to make a secret organization. Lodges were formed every where through the Northern States, and in many localities they had things pretty much as they liked. At the same time another party, known as Free-Soilers, and later as Republicans, was rapidly gaining strength; it cared little for the influence of foreigners, but was outspoken in its hostility to slavery.

It is easy to see that these two parties were not very widely separated, though the objects which they sought to accomplish were dissimilar. The American, as its name implied, was composed of native-born citizens, or of foreigners who had altogether cast themselves loose from the countries of their birth, and determined to spend the rest of their lives under the shelter of the Stars and Stripes.

The first national convention of the Republicans was held at Pittsburgh on the 22d of February, 1856, but it made no nominations; on the same day the American party met in convention at Philadelphia, its council having held a secret session three days before, and adopted a platform of principles. The most important feature of it was a plank which affirmed the right of the people of a territory to decide upon its own institutions whenever they had sufficient population to entitle them to one representative in Congress, but with the proviso

that only those who were actual residents of the territory and citizens of the United States according to its laws, should have any voice in forming the constitution or making the laws of said state or territory.

This was not satisfactory to the anti-Nebraska element in the convention, and after an attempt to harmonize the platform, fifty of the delegates withdrew altogether from the assemblage. The remainder proceeded to ballot for candidates, and finally chose Millard Fillmore and A. J. Donelson as their standard-bearers in the presidential contest.

This nomination was ratified by a Whig convention in Baltimore in September, and consequently Fillmore and Donelson were the candidates of the united Whig and American parties in 1856.

The Republicans held a convention in Philadelphia on the 17th of June and nominated John C. Fremont and William L. Dayton. The platform adopted on this occasion declared emphatically the hostility of the convention to slavery and polygamy, the "twin relics of barbarism," which it was the right and duty of Congress to prohibit in the territories.

It further denied the right of any territorial legislature to establish slavery in any form, as long as the Constitution of the United States remained in force. The work of the convention was enthusiastically received throughout the North, and the canvass for Fremont and Dayton will long be remembered by those who took part in it.

The Democrats in their convention, on the 2d of June, nominated James Buchanan and John C. Breckenridge, and adopted a platform in which was maintained the right of the territories to choose for themselves whether they should have slavery or not. The elections of Pennsylvania and Indiana in October showed that the Democrats were pretty certain to win in the presidential contest, but the opposition showed more strength than it had been credited with by the Democrats.

Fillmore only carried the single state of Maryland, while the Republicans were successful in New York, all the New England states, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa, thus giving their candidates 114 electoral votes. The Democrats were victorious in all the slave states except Maryland, and all the other northern States which did not go for Fremont; the total popular votes were as follows:

Buchanan, 1,838,169.

Fremont, 1,341,264.

Fillmore, 874,534.

It will be seen that the Democrats only won the election by a plurality, as they lacked 377,629 votes of a majority. But a miss is as good as a mile in politics as in anything else, and Buchanan had a clear majority of 60 electoral votes over his opponents.

In this election the American party did not manifest the strength which many of its supporters had

confidently looked for, and it became evident that large numbers of its constituents had voted with the Republicans. They realized that there were foreigners and foreigners; there were those who came here only for a brief sojourn, or retaining all their old-world prejudices, and others who came intending to reside here and become citizens in every sense of the word. The most intelligent of the foreigners were in favor of freedom, and they naturally turned to the Republicans as their best friends; the hostility to foreign influences did not always make fine discriminations, and a good many of the adopted citizens could not be induced to enroll themselves under the banners of the American party, though they were in general sympathy with its principles.

The Republican party had its beginning in the Northwest, and after the presidential contest of 1856 there was a cordial union between many of the foreign-born citizens and the "Americans." The movement had begun before this time but had not made much progress on account of the prejudices just stated; for a good many years the Democracy had managed to control a large part of the foreigners by the attraction of its name, and even at the present time it retains many voters of Hibernian origin in the large cities of the North and South. But the Germans, Norwegians, and Swedes were not disposed to cast their lot with a party that favored

human oppression, and when they saw the new organization on the basis of universal liberty they were not slow to join it. A leader was wanted for the new party, and he was found in the person of Abraham Lincoln.

And here is a bit of local history which deserves a place in our record. We quote from Arnold's "Lincoln and Slavery," page 93.

"A convention of the people of Illinois was called at Bloomington, in May 1856, to appoint delegates to the National Convention which was to meet at Philadelphia in June, to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President. The Free-soil Democrats, Anti-Nebraska Democrats, Whigs, Americans, and liberty men of Illinois, and of all nationalities were brought together at this convention, and mainly through the influence of Mr. Lincoln, united on the broad platform of the declaration of independence, and hostility to the extension of slavery.

"Great difficulty was found in laying down a satisfactory platform of principles; finally, after much controversy and discussion, with no satisfactory result, Mr. Lincoln, who was not present, was sent for by the Committee on Resolutions, and he solved the difficulty by suggesting that all could unite on the principles embodied in the Declaration of Independence and hostility to the extension of slavery. This suggestion was immediately accepted. 'Let us,' said he, 'in building our new party,

plant ourselves on the rock of the Declaration of Independence, and the gates of hell shall not be able to prevail against us.' The convention thereupon resolved:

"That all men are indowed with the inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and that the object of government is to secure these rights to all persons within its jurisdiction.' This and hostility to slavery, and a determination to resist its further extension, was the substance of the platform adopted. Thus was organized the party that revolutionized the Democratic state of Illinois against the powerful influence of Douglas, and ultimately elected Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency."

At the convention in Philadelphia there was the same difficulty in overcoming the differences between the various elements, and the platform was substantially the same as the one in Illinois. But it needed a little more time to cement the union between them, and in this respect fortune favored the new party through the blunders of the old. History is said to repeat itself, and the Democratic party of to-day is not above giving aid to its opponents through its own mistakes.

During the year a brutal attack was made upon Charles Sumner, Senator from Massachusetts, by Preston S. Brooks of South Carolina. Sumner had made a speech on the Kansas question in which he spoke severely of Butler, a relative of Brooks. The latter came to the

defence of his kinsman by striking Mr. Sumner with a cane while he was seated at his desk, and wholly unaware of his assailant's presence. Mr. Sumner was beaten until he was insensible and several friends of Brooks stood by to prevent interference with the latter's brutality.

The cowardly act of Brooks was applauded through the South, and the would-be assassin was for the time a hero among his own people. This event roused the people of the North more than any other single occurrence of the year, and showed that slavery was justly to be considered the sum of all villainies. The House of Representatives of which Brooks was a member, did not see fit to expel him, but contented itself with a vote of censure.

In the beginning of Buchanan's administration the famous Dred Scott decision was pronounced by Chief Justice Taney, to the effect that no person whose ancestors had been imported to this country and sold as slaves had any right to sue in a court of the United States; in other words, no person who had been a slave or was descended from a slave had any right of citizenship. The learned judge decided that our Revolutionary fathers in the Declaration of Independence regarded the black men "as so far inferior that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect," and that "they were never thought or spoken of except as property."

He further declared that the Missouri Compromise act, and all other acts restricting slavery, were unconstitutional, and that neither Congress nor local legislatures had any right to legislate for the restriction of slavery.

Mr. Buchanan had predicted that this decision would settle the question of slavery, speedily and finally. Its effect was to make the agitation greater than ever and rouse the spirit of hostility in the North.

One of the results of this excitement was the raid of John Brown, in Virginia, a clear violation of the laws of the State for which the leader was executed on the scaffold. The southern states became alarmed, not only at the occurrence itself, but at the open sympathy which was manifested through the North for John Brown's detestation of slavery. Many good citizens, while knowing the act to be unjustifiable according to the laws of the land, realized that the hero of Harper's Ferry had suffered much, and his work was the natural outcome of his experience.

From 1856 to 1860 the various elements opposed to Democracy and the slave-power had been uniting, and at the same time the Democrats had followed a course that was not calculated to unite them firmly. The elections in 1859 showed that the Republican party had gained greatly since the last contest for the presidency, and the days of the slave-power were numbered. The leaders of the slave-holders saw there was no chance of their elect-

ing the man of their choice, and they proceeded to plot for the dissolution of the Union by first dissolving the Democratic party.

It was their plan to make use of a Republican victory by declaring that the President thus elected was a sectional one, opposed to the institution of slavery, and therefore dangerous as the head of the nation; they would then be justified in withdrawing from the Union, and setting up for themselves. Only a few of the leaders were in the secret, or were consulted in the preliminaries; but it is evident that the movement for secession was popular from the outset.

The National Democratic Convention met in Charleston on the 23d of April, 1860, for the purpose of nominating candidates for the presidency and vice-presidency. Many of the delegates from the Slave States had come with instructions to demand from the Convention a guaranty for the speedy practical recognition, by the general government and the people, of the system of slavery as a national institution.

The Convention reaffirmed the Cincinnati platform of popular sovereignty, of which Douglas was the exponent, whereupon the Alabama delegation, through its leader, Leroy P. Walker, withdrew from the Convention. Their action was followed on that and the succeeding day by nearly all the delegates from the other slaveholding States, and the disruption of the Democratic party was complete.

The seceders, under the leadership of James A. Bayard of Delaware, assembled the next day, and adjourned to meet in Richmond, and subsequently in Baltimore, where they nominated John C. Breckenridge as their candidate for the presidency. The regular convention also met in Baltimore, and nominated Mr. Douglas to be their standard-bearer in the presidential contest.

On the 9th of May, a small party, claiming to represent the Constitution and the Union (founded on the ruins of the "American" party), nominated John Bell of Tennessee, and on the 16th of the same month, the Republican Convention met in the famous wigwam at Chicago. A platform, of which the main feature was open hostility to slavery, was adopted, and on the 19th of that month Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin were chosen as the candidates for the two great offices for which there was to be a struggle with most momentous consequences, as was shown by subsequent events.

Four parties were thus in the field, but only two of them represented tangible interests, and met face to face in battle. These were the pro-slavery wing of the Democracy, and the Republican party, now clearly defined as the opponent of slavery, and all that it represented.

The contest was active throughout the country, but the hopeless division in the Democracy enabled the Republicans to carry every Free State except New Jersey.

Mr. Lincoln received 180 electoral votes against 123 of all others, the latter being given as follows: Breckenridge 72, Bell 39, and Douglas 12.

In the popular vote Mr. Lincoln received 976,163 less than all his opponents, and thus gave occasion for the cry that he would be a usurper of the presidential office, as he had not received a majority of the votes cast at the election. It will be remembered that Taylor and Buchanan were elected in just the same manner, but the Democrats never urged that either of them should decline the honors of being chief of the nation on that account.

Thus was elected the first Republican President, and the time between his election and inauguration was used to good advantage by the leaders of the secession movement. The events that followed were too numerous to be recapitulated here,—too numerous to permit even the briefest history.

Out of the triumph of the Republican party in 1860, grew the war which was waged on one side for the destruction of the Union, and on the other for its preservation. It was a war which has few if any parallels in history; a war in which an entire nation was divided against itself; a war in which were engaged millions of men speaking the same language and inhabiting the same country; a war where prodigies of valor were displayed on both sides, and where countless deeds of individual bravery were performed.

It was a contest for an idea, the integrity of the Union on the one hand, and the right to withdraw from it on the other. Families were divided, communities were broken up, brother fought against brother, and son against father, in this war which had for its beginning the restriction or the extension of the privileges of the owner of slaves. As time wore on the causes of the strife were partially forgotten. The arbitrament of the sword to which the South had appealed decided against it. Her armies were vanquished; slavery was forever abolished, and after four years of internecine strife peace was restored throughout the land.

Twenty years have sufficed in great measure, at least to allay the passions that were aroused by the civil war, and to knit the people of the country in more friendly relations. Few of those who fought under the confederate flag would desire to see the old state of things restored, and the rights of the slave-holder established as they were before the war.

The South has entered upon an era of prosperity such as she had never known before. She has established manufacturing and other industries, and promises to become very speedily the friendly rival of the North in the arts and arms of peace. Every year sees a more kindly feeling existing between what were once two distinct sections of the country, but now possessing a common interest.

Since 1860 the Republican party has uninterruptedly held control of the presidental chair, and administered the affairs of the executive branch of the national government. Under it the country has been prosperous, its population and wealth have been greatly increased, new channels of trade and industry have been opened, and railways have been extended across the continent to unite the Pacific with the Atlantic Coast.

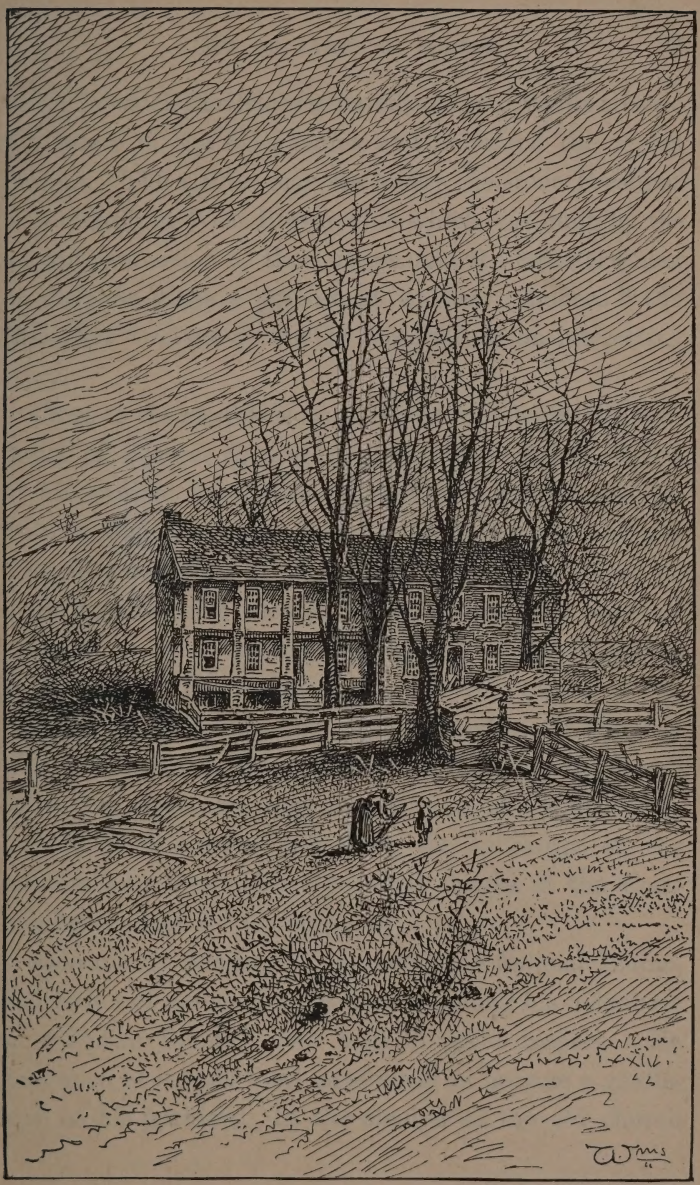
The salient events in the history of the party in this last quarter of a century are too recent to need recapitulation. It has sought to deal justly with all interests of the whole country, and that it has been successful the prosperity of the nation is sufficient proof. That it has made occasional errors its candid adherents will freely admit; parties, like men, are not omniscient, and the wisest among us cannot predict with unerring accuracy the outcome of all political or personal actions. But the party which has successfully guided the Ship of State through a voyage fraught with the perils of civil war, and the attendant evils can be safely trusted for at least the remainder of the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER III.

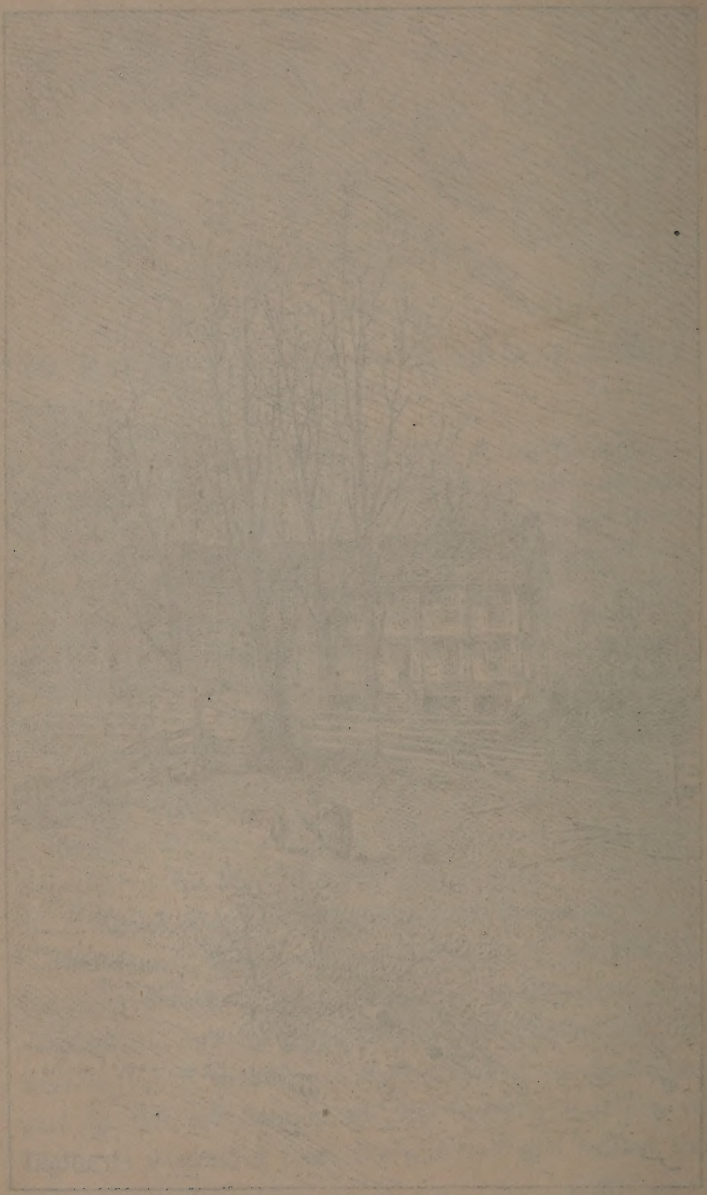
JAMES G. BLAINE—HIS BOYHOOD AND EARLY LIFE.

History of the Blaine Family.—A Hero of the Revolution.—Church and Cemetery in West Brownsville, Pennsylvania.—Ephraim L. Blaine, Father of the Republican Standard Bearer.—Two Graves in the Churchyard.—The Gillespie Family.—A Talk with Old Residents of Brownsville.—Birthplace of James G. Blaine.—His Boyhood and Early Life.—An Interesting Story of His Childhood.—The Child Father to the Man.—"There, take that."—Getting the best of his Enemy.—Life on the Monongahela.—An Old Tradition.—His Life in College.—A Leader in Studies, Sports, and Pranks.—Loved by His Fellow Students.—Graduated with High Honors.

JAMES G. BLAINE, the Republican standard bearer in the Presidential campaign of 1884, is now in the fifty-fifth year of his life. He was born January 31, 1830, in the village of West Brownsville, Union Township, Washington County, Pennsylvania, and the early years of his life were passed in that region. His ancestors were Scotch-Irish, and he preserves in his features the distinctive type of that rugged stock which had a prominent part in the colonization of this country. James G. Blaine is descended from the pioneers who settled the



BIRTHPLACE AND EARLY HOME OF JAMES G. BLAINE,
AT BROWNSVILLE, PENN.
(From a recent photograph by A. M. Thompson, Brownsville.)



valley in which Carlisle is situated, and afterwards crossed the range of the Alleghenies and colonized the region beyond. The visitor may see to-day the stone Presbyterian church in West Brownsville which was built by the second generation of the settlers, and the cemetery near by contains many a gravestone whence a modern "Old Mortality" might derive the material for an interesting story.

Close to the church is an old house which was the residence of Colonel Ephraim Blaine, the great-grandfather of the present Republican candidate for the Presidency. Colonel Blaine was an officer of the Revolution; he was originally a colonel of the Pennsylvania Line where he made an honorable record, but in the last four years of the war he was Commissary-General of the Northern Department. His abilities were severely tested as the country was without credit and the purchase of supplies was attended with many difficulties. During the dreadful winter when the army was in camp at Valley Forge, he did much toward mitigating the sufferings of the soldiers and received the personal thanks of the Commander-in-chief for his efficiency.

Ephraim L. Blaine, the grandson of Colonel Blaine, and father of James G., was known among his neighbors as "Squire Blaine," and held in great respect. He kept open house and lived generously as became a gentleman of his position. In the shadow of the old church

there are two graves marked by a single stone which bears the inscription

EPHRAIM L. BLAINE
AND
MARIA GILLESPIE BLAINE.

A correspondent who recently visited the spot writes as follows concerning the cemetery and the graves to which reference has just been made:

"There is a gift that is potent when one calls upon the dusty past in a grave-yard. It is to learn the history and genius of the human life that ended when the mound was raised and the inscription cut in the stone that arrests attention. Who was it that said that people too often read the inscriptions upon tombstones without knowing or caring aught of the genius that once resided in the inanimate dust beneath them? He spoke the truth, and how much people often miss by being content with what is recorded above-ground.

"I stood beside two old graves to-day in this village that quickly recalled to me Longfellow's beautiful lines:

"'See how the ivy climbs and expands
Over this humble hermitage,
And seems to cover with its little hands
The rough, gray stones, as a child that stands
Caressing the wrinkled cheeks of age.'

The marble that marked them was much newer than the mounds, and the surroundings impressed me with the thought that a dutiful and reverent son had, years after, when means and opportunity came that were wanting when death called father and mother, placed a fitting monument to mark the spot where they slept. It is a plain, unpretentious stone that marks these graves, and it was the names only that attracted my attention.

"'Who were these two people in life?' I asked of an old gentleman, who had wandered along with me to this quiet city of the dead.

"'Why, they were the father and mother of James G. Blaine. I knew them both well. Eph. Blaine and I went to school together. He was one of the founders of this town, and was 'squire here for many a year. He was elected prothonotary of the county in 1842, and moved to Washington, the county seat. He married Maria, a daughter of old Neal Gillespie, the smartest man in this section, and from his people James Gillespie Blaine derives his middle name. The Gillespies were among the most prominent families in the State. The seal of nature's nobility was stamped upon them, one and all. The men were brave and stalwart; as strong in character, too, as they were stout of limb. The women were very handsome, and carried themselves as proudly as though the blood of a hundred earls were coursing through their veins. The beauty of old Mrs. Blaine,

James' mother, passed into a proverb. Even in her decrepit age she preserved much of her early attractiveness, and her eye was like a hawk's, as clear and flashing then as in the days of her budding womanhood. This was a peculiarity of her family, and she transmitted it to all her children. The Gillespies were ardent, intense Catholics, and made their religion the leading feature of their lives. Neal Gillespie owned a good deal of land about here, and Eph. Blaine built the brick house you see yonder on a portion of it, after his marriage with Miss Gillespie. There their first child, James, was born in 1830. I remember him very well when he was a lad and used to paddle about on the river and make mud pies along its banks. He was a bright lad.

"'I remember one little story about him, which I often heard in those days, and which is interesting as showing how truly, in his case, the child was father to the man. When he was but a little toddler, so to speak, some laborers were engaged digging a well on his father's premises. The future statesman was caught one morning peering down into the excavation, and one of the men, with the idea of frightening him and thus preventing him from again putting himself in danger, thrust his shovel toward him, and made all sorts of ugly faces. Jim ran away, but only to nurse his anger and await an opportunity to revenge.

"'Venturing to the well a day or two after he had been

driven away, he found the men working away at the bottom. Improving the opportunity, he seized a clod of earth and hurled it with all his little might full at the head of his unsuspecting enemy, with the consolatory remark, "There, take that." Clod followed clod in fast succession, with accompanying expletives, until the men were fairly beside themselves with rage and with the fear that the desperate child might take it into his head to use some of the stones lying about him as messengers of wrath more effective than mere lumps of earth. Their shouts, however, brought his mother to the scene, and the little avenger was unceremoniously hustled off to the house. That was the old blood asserting itself. A Gillespie or a Blaine never turned his back upon friend or foe.

"'That's the new packet *James G. Blaine* that runs from here to Pittsburg. The two people who sleep in this graveyard little thought when they died that they'd have a son big enough to have a packet named for him. They died when Jim was young, and they didn't leave anything for him to start with either. Eph. Blaine was a rich man once. His grandfather left him some fifty thousand dollars, but he spent it having a good time. He was not a money-saver, but believed in enjoying the world as he lived. The Gillespies wasn't so slow either, but Eph. Blaine led 'em all in this country. It's no wonder Jim Blaine is smart. He comes of good stock on both

sides. All the Gillespies were smart. Neal Gillespie was the biggest brained man in all this country.'"

"'Do the Blaines or any of the relatives own the old homestead?'"

"'No, indeed. It's long since passed into strange hands. There was little of either the Blaine or the Gillespie estate left when the settlement day came. The children all had to begin new. None of either family live about here now.'"

"There is much that is strange in the story that the old man told me," the writer continues, "and much more that is interesting. We finished the talk beside the restless waters of the Monongahela, near which Mr. Blaine was born, and his family lived for years. This little brick house doesn't stand more than forty rods from the river, and the old path which leads from the doorway that Blaine helped to make in childhood, is still there. The best boat on the river now bears his name, and the plain people love to talk of his having been born in their midst. It is a queer section of the country in which to have found the homes of two such families as the Blaines and the Gillespies. Both strong houses—both fond of the best things of this life. Both educated and brainy.

"According to the traditions of Washington county, James G. Blaine's grandfather left the fertile country near Carlisle early in the present century, and moved into the then wilderness of the Yougheny region, where he

established a country store at the mouth of Ten Mile Run, in Greene County. He lived there but a short time when he came to Brownsville, with his wagon-load of goods, and established a store, which he kept the remainder of his life. The Gillespie family was then a rich and powerful family in the region. The strength of mind and character for which all the family were noted, is still a proverb in the region.

"The Monongahela river at this point separates the two counties of Fayette and Washington—Brownsville is on the Fayette side and West Brownsville on the Washington side. They are both quaint, old towns, and wear the mark of many years. I don't suppose there are 1,500 people in both, and the houses straggle along the banks of the river on the lowlands, which are just high enough to keep them out of the reach of the overflow. This country was new—I might say wild—when the Blaines and the Gillespies came here. The rich treasures of the Yougheny region were floated down the Ohio river in rude keel-boats, and the untold wealth in the rugged mountains was then unknown. Albert Gallatin used to live in this country then, and his residence was but a few miles up the river from this point. But mighty changes have taken place since those days, when he left his impress upon the finances and credit of this country so that it can never be effaced.

"There seems to have been good feeling from the first

between the Blaine and Gillespie families, and there seems to have been a special care to intermingle the family names as each son was born. The old man told me that nearly every son in the Blaine family, as in the Gillespie, wore the family name or some part of his autograph. The Gillespie family seemed to run more to girls than boys, and it seemed to be their good fortune to link their fortunes with strong men. The daughter who was next in age to Maria, who married Ephraim L. Blaine, was wedded to the famous Tom Ewing of Ohio, when he was a poor lawyer in Lancaster, Pa. That's how he became an uncle of James G. Blaine, and the names of Blaine and Ewing became joined.

"There is a tradition here that when old Tom Ewing was Secretary of the Interior Blaine applied to him for a clerkship and the old man sent him to Kentucky to earn an honest living teaching school. The association of the name of Ewing with that of Blaine has given rise to the story that the Ewing family of Ohio helped James G. Blaine to an education. I might as well destroy this fiction by telling the facts.

"A short drive brought me to Washington, the county seat of this county, and one of the first men I met was Major John H. Ewing, an old verteran now past four score years.

"'I married the sister of Ephraim L. Blaine. He and I went to school together over in yonder college, and I

knew him nearly all his life. He was a leader in the mischief of the school, and fond of all the good things of this life. He was the handsomest man I ever saw, and he had a wife that was a match for him. She was one of the noblest women I ever knew. She inherited all the sterling traits of character and strength of mind for which the Gillespies were noted. So, you see, Blaine sprang from the best stock on both sides.' "

Miss Gillespie, who married Ephraim Blaine, and became the mother of his children, was a devout Catholic; but the seven children, five boys and two girls, were brought up in the Presbyterian faith of their father. In 1876 Mr. Blaine was questioned concerning the religious faith of his family, as well as that of himself. He wrote the following reply:

"My ancestors on my father's side were, as you know, always identified with the Presbyterian church, and they were prominent and honored in the old colony of Pennsylvania. But I will never consent to make any public declaration on the subject, and for two reasons: First, because I abhor the introduction of anything that looks like a religious test or qualification for office in a republic where perfect freedom of conscience is the birthright of every citizen; and, second, because my mother was a devoted Catholic. I would not for a thousand Presidencies speak a disrespectful word of my mother's religion, and no pressure will draw me into any avowal of hostility or

unfriendless to Catholics, though I have never received, and do not expect, any political support from them."

Since his residence in Augusta, Maine, Mr. Blaine has been a member of the Orthodox Congregational church, which is almost identical with the Presbyterian church of Pennsylvania. He is a regular attendant upon the services of the church during all his Sundays in Augusta, and is conspicuous in all its works of charity.

The subject of our sketch entered Washington college in 1843, soon after he had passed his thirteenth birthday. He was noted for his aptness at learning and for his retentive memory, and it was remarked of him that while he was not a hard student, he was always thoroughly up in his lessons and answered every question readily. There were two or three hundred other boys in the school, and he took a foremost place among them, partly in consequence of his excellent scholarship and partly owing to his fondness for athletic sports. His magnificent physique was in his favor, and in all the running, leaping, and kindred matches he carried off the prize more frequently than any of his competitors. In the debating societies of the school he took a prominent part, and laid the foundation of the reputation he has since attained as one of the foremost speakers of the country. He had a fondness for the difficult side of the question rather than the easy one, and usually managed to bring his listeners around to his way of thinking.

According to those who knew him in his college days he was the leader of nearly everything, not omitting some of the pranks for which students are famous. The latter performances were of the harmless sort, and just numerous enough to keep the juvenile spirits from being altogether obliterated by too much study. One friend says of him: "To the new scholars who entered in succeeding classes he was a hero—uniformly kind to them, ready to give them assistance and advice, and eager to make pleasant their path in college life. His handsome person and neat attire; his ready sympathy and prompt assistance; his frank, generous nature, and his brave, manly bearing, made him the best known, the best loved, and the most popular boy at college. He was the arbiter among younger boys in all their disputes, and the authority with those of his own age on all questions. He was always for the 'under dog in the fight.' And at the end of the usual four years' course at college, he was graduated in 1847, with the most distinguished honors of his class, and went forth into practical life well fitted in acquirements and training to deal with its problems, and bearing as a crown of his youthful honor the affection and esteem of all his associates."

CHAPTER IV.

BLAINE AS TEACHER, EDITOR, AND CONGRESSMAN.

Going West.—Professor in a Military School.—Married to Miss Stanwood.—From Kentucky to Philadelphia.—Teaching in the Pennsylvania Institution for the Blind.—The Principal's Reminiscences.—First Literary Work by James G. Blaine.—Careful and Methodical Arrangement.—Moves to Augusta, Maine.—Editor of the Kennebec Journal.—Editor of the Portland Advertiser.—Forming the Republican Party in Maine.—In the State Legislature.—Elected to Congress.—His Career There.—His First Great Speech.—The War Debts of the States.—Speech on the Finances.—Speaker of Three Congresses.—His Skill as a Debater Acknowledged.

After his graduation from college, young Blaine observed the advice of Horace Greeley, though the founder of the *Tribune* was then unknown to him. Like many another enterprising youth of his time, and since, he turned his hopes towards the setting sun. An opportunity came in the shape of a situation in a school at Blue Lick Springs, Kentucky, where he became a professor in the Western Military Institute, a flourishing institution which boasted of nearly five hundred students.

A retired officer who was a student there at the time,

says: "Professor Blaine was a thin, handsome, earnest young man, with the same fascinating manners he has now. He was popular with the boys, who trusted him and made friends with him from the first. He knew the given names of every one, and he knew their shortcomings and their strong points. He was a man of great personal courage, and during a fight between the faculty of the school and the owners of the Springs, involving some questions about the removal of the school, he behaved in the bravest manner, fighting hard but keeping cool. Revolvers and knives were freely used, after the customs which then prevailed in Kentucky, but Blaine only used his well-disciplined muscle.

Colonel Thornton F. Johnson was the principal of the school, and his wife had a young ladies' school at Millersburg, twenty miles distant. It was at this place that Mr. Blaine met Miss Stanwood, who belonged to an excellent family in the East, and afterwards became his wife. It has been hinted that he followed the custom of most college youths and fell in love before his graduation. It is also hinted that the match was broken off through the opposition of the young lady's family, who could not forsee the future prominence of the student who was yet in his teens.

After his marriage, Mr. Blaine left Kentucky and went to Philadelphia, where he sought an engagement as a teacher in the Pennsylvania Institution for the Instruc-

tion of the Blind. William Chapin, the present principal of that establishment, said recently:—

"I remember young James G. Blaine distinctly. He was principal teacher here on the boys' side for two years, and when he departed he left behind him not only universal regret at a serious loss to the institution, but an impression of his personal force upon the work and its methods, which survives the lapse of thirty years.

"He rang the bell one Summer afternoon in 1852, in answer to an advertisement for a teacher. There were thirty or forty other applicants, but his manner was so winning and he possessed so many manifestly valuable qualities that I closed an engagement with him at once. He was married, and his wife and little son Walker came here with him. His qualities, which impressed me most deeply, were his culture, the thoroughness of his education and his unfailing self-possession. He was also a man of very decided will, and was very much disposed to argument. He was young then—only twenty-two—and was rather impulsive, leaping to a conclusion very quickly. But he was always ready to defend his conclusions, however suddenly he seemed to have reached them. We had many a familiar discussion, and his arguments always astonished me by the knowledge they displayed of facts in history and politics. His memory was remarkable, and seemed to retain details which ordinary men would forget.

"I will show something that illustrates how thoroughly Mr. Blaine mastered anything he took hold of," said Mr. Chapin, as he took from a desk in the corner of the room a thick quarto manuscript book bound in dark, brown leather. "This book Mr. Blaine compiled with great labor from the minute books of the Board of Managers. It gives a historical view of the institution from its foundation up to Mr. Blaine's departure. He did all the work in his own room, telling no one of it until he left. Then he presented it, through me, to the Board of Managers, who were both surprised and gratified. I believe they made him a present of $100 as a thank-offering for an invaluable work."

"This book," says one who saw it recently, "the first historical work of Mr. Blaine, is a model of its kind. On the title page, in ornamental pen-work, executed at that time by Mr. Chapin, is the inscription:

JOURNAL
OF THE
PENNSYLVANIA INSTITUTION
FOR THE
INSTRUCTION OF THE BLIND,
FROM ITS FOUNDATION.

COMPILED FROM OFFICIAL RECORDS
BY JAMES G. BLAINE,
1854.

"The methodical character of the work is most remarkable. On the first page every abbreviation used in the book is entered alphabetically, and every line is a model of neatness and accuracy. On every page is a wide margin. At the top of the margin is the year, in ornamental figures. Below it is a brief statement of what the text contains opposite that portion of the marginal entry. Every year's record closes with an elaborate table, giving the attendance of members of the board. The last pages of the book are filled with alphabetical lists of officers of the institution and statistical tables. One of the lists is that of the 'principal teachers.' No. 13 is followed by the signature 'Jas. G. Blaine, from August 5, 1852, to'—and then, in another hand, the record is completed with the date November 23, 1854.

"I think that the book," remarked Mr. Chapin, "illustrates the character of the man in accurate mastery of facts and orderly presentation of details. We still use it for reference, and Mr. Frank Battles, the assistant principal, is bringing the record down to the present time."

While engaged in the work of teaching, Mr. Blaine began the study of law; he fitted himself for practice at the bar in Pennsylvania but never applied for admission to it. His wife had a longing for her old home in Maine, and in obedience to her wishes, and believing that it was

a more promising field than Pennsylvania, he decided to make it his permanent residence. The young couple moved to Augusta in 1854, and it has now been his home for more than thirty years.

In the same year he entered into partnership with Joseph Baker, a prominent lawyer of Augusta, and the two purchased the *Kennebec Journal*, of which Mr. Blaine at once became editor. The *Journal* was a weekly paper, one of the organs of the Whig party, and exercised considerable influence. In 1857 Mr. Blaine disposed of his interest in this paper, and became editor of the *Portland Daily Advertiser*. In the campaign of 1860 he returned temporarily to his old post on the *Kennebec Journal* on account of the illness of its editor.

During his experience of six years in journalism, Mr. Blaine displayed marked ability, and the two papers with which he was connected were not only regarded as authorities throughout the State of Maine, but extended their influence far beyond its borders. He was a forcible writer on all political topics, and was one of the first to foresee the dissolution of the old Whig party, and the necessity for a new party to be formed out of the consolidated opposition to the encroachments of the slave-holding interest. He took an active part in the campaign of 1856 and made many speeches in favor of the election of General Fremont to the Presidency.

When the Whig party went to pieces Mr. Blaine

joined hands with Governor Anson P. Morrill in organizing the Republican party in the Pine Tree State. His vigorous attacks upon the Buchanan Administration made him a power in the new organization. In 1858, when he was in his twenty-ninth year, he was elected to the Legislature. He served two years on the floor of the Lower House and two years in the chair, where he displayed the qualities of parliamentary leadership and control that afterward gave him such renown in the National Legislature at Washington.

The excellence of his services in the State Legislature recommended him for a place in Congress, and in 1862 he was nominated by the Republicans of the Kennebec District. The campaign was an energetic one, as he was opposed by one of the most popular Democrats, over whom he triumphed by a majority of more than three thousand votes. When his term expired he was re-elected by a still greater majority, and he represented the district continuously until his promotion to the United States Senate. Altogether he was elected a member of Congress seven terms by the following majorities:

1862,	3,422	1870,	2,320
1864,	4,328	1872,	3,568
1866,	6,591	1874,	2,830
1868,	3,346		

During the first term of his long career as Representative he had for colleagues such men as Elihu B. Wash-

burne, Owen Lovejoy, George W. Julian, Godlove S. Orth, Schuyler Colfax, James F. Wilson, William B. Allison, John A. Kasson, Alexander H. Rice, Henry L. Dawes, William Windom, F. P. Blair, jr., James Brooks, Erastus Corning, Reuben E. Fenton, Francis Kernan, George H. Pendleton, Robert C. Schenck, James A. Garfield, Samuel J. Randall, William D. Kelley, Thaddeus Stevens, G. W. Scofield, and many other distinguished men. Among these he soon was recognized as a man whose influence was sure to be felt and to increase with time.

His first election to Congress was during the stormy period of the war, and he had plenty of work before him. He speedily acquired a reputation as a most industrious member of committees. All his committee work was thoroughly performed, and whenever any reports were presented he was ready to explain them in the minutest details. He was a member of the Military and Post Office Committees, and at the same time had a prominent place on the Committees on Appropriations and Rules. He did not neglect the other committees in whose work he had no part, and it was frequently remarked that he was more familiar with their duties than some of the members who belonged to them.

On nearly every subject that came before Congress he had something to say, and if the remarks of "Blaine of Maine" were eliminated from the report of the debates

of the closing period of the Rebellion, and the following year, they would be suggestive of Hamlet without Hamlet. His first remarkable speech in Congress was in relation to the assumption of the State War Debts by the General Government. He took the position that the Government was abundantly able to conduct the war to a successful issue, and so powerful was his argument and so vigorously presented, that it was printed and circulated as a campaign document in the Presidential contest of 1864. At the beginning of his speech on that occasion he claimed that all expenditure made in good faith by the loyal States to maintain the integrity of the Union, should be refunded by the National Government. "If," said he, "the twenty-four loyal States now striving with patriotic rivalry to outdo each other in defending and rescuing the nation from its perils were hereafter to constitute the entire union, there might be nothing gained and nothing lost to any one of them by consolidating their respective war debts into one common charge upon the aggregate resources of the Nation. But the actual case presented for consideration is far different from this. We are engaged in a struggle which must inevitably result in restoring to loyalty and to duty eleven States now in rebellion. And beyond that, as a consequence of a restored Union, and of the boundless prosperity which awaits the auspicious event, our vast western domain will be peopled with a rapidity exceeding all precedent,

and States without number almost will spring into existence to add to the strength and insure the perpetuity of our Government. Were it not for the blood so freely poured out and the treasure so lavishly expended by the twenty-four loyal States represented on this floor, the eleven States now in revolt would not be saved from self-destruction, and the forty States so speedily to grow up in the Mississippi Valley and on the Pacific Slope would never come into existence. Of the immense National debt which we are incurring in this struggle, each State will of course have to bear a share; but it is quite manifest that for two generations to come, owing to our established system of taxation, the present loyal States will have to endure vastly the larger proportion of the total burden. Is it fair or just that in addition to this they shall each be called upon to bear, unaided, a large local debt, necessarily and yet generously incurred in aid of the one common object of preserving the life of the whole nation? The financial issue is rather between the twenty-four loyal States on the one hand, and the eleven revolted States, together with all future new States, on the other. We have it in our power to-day to determine the matter upon principles of the highest equity, and at the same time for the interest of the loyal States who are bearing the heat and burden of the great contest. From such data as I have been able to collect, I estimate the war debts of the loyal States, and of the towns,

cities, and counties within those States, as amounting at least to $150,000,000. If this burden is to remain permanently on the communities now sustaining it, we shall witness the anomalous spectacle of less than one-third of the prospective number of States bearing in its most oppressive form $150,000,000 of debt, every dollar of which was contracted as much for the benefit of the other two-thirds of the Union as for themselves.

If the national debt is increased to $150,000,000 by refunding to the States, the local burdens are correlatively and proportionately reduced. Not only is this so, as an actual fact, but it is so in its impression and its influence in financial circles. You will find that the bankers in New York and London maintain a close observation upon our state and local indebtedness, and thence measure our ability to carry a national debt. One of the earliest and one of the gravest questions that came up for adjustment upon the organization of the government, was the payment from the common purse of the nation of all debts contracted by the States in their great struggle to achieve our independence. The argument in favor of the policy was admirably set forth by Mr. Hamilton, and in accordance with his views Congress passed an act to provide more effectually for the settlement of accounts between the United States and the individual States. The second precedent for refunding the expenditures made by the States was in the war with England in 1812-15. Every

dollar was repaid, on the most liberal principles, the only limit or qualification being that the money, whose restitution was claimed, "had been actually expended for the use and benefit of the United States during the late war with Great Britain." The refunding to the States for expenses incurred during the war with Mexico, was upon a basis so comprehensive and broad as to be almost liable to the charge of looseness and prodigality. The refunding policy which I have proposed neither adds to nor subtracts from the debt of the loyal people who are now struggling for the Union and for nationality.

Our material progress comprehends the entire circle of human enterprise, — agriculture, commerce, manufactures, mining. They assure to us a growth in property and population that will surpass the most sanguine deductions of our census tables, framed as those tables are upon the ratios and relations of our progress in the past. They give into our hands, under the blessings of Almighty God, the power to command our fate as a nation. They hold out to us the grandest future reserved for any people; and with this promise they teach us the lesson of patience, and make confidence and fortitude a duty. With such amplitude and affluence of resources, and with such a vast stake at issue, we should be unworthy of our lineage and our inheritance if we for one moment distrusted our ability to maintain ourselves a united people with "one country one Constitution, one destiny."

In January, 1868, Mr. Blaine introduced a resolution in relation to Congressional representation, which was referred to the Reconstruction Committee, and was subsequently made the basis of the Fourteenth Amendment. In December, 1867, he made an elaborate speech on the finances, in which he analysed Mr. Pendleton's greenback theory. "The remedy for our financial troubles," said he, "will not be found in a superabundance of depreciated paper currency. It lies in the opposite direction, and the sooner the nation finds itself on a specie basis the sooner will the public treasury be freed from embarrassment, and private business be relieved from discouragement. Instead, therefore, of entering upon a reckless and boundless issue of legal tenders, with their constant depreciation, if not destruction, of value, let us set resolutely to work and make those already in circulation equal to so many gold dollars."

At the opening of the first session of the XLIst Congress the Republican caucus nominated Mr. Blaine for Speaker by acclamation, and he was elected by a vote of 136 to 57 for Mr. Kerr. He was re-elected, without opposition in his own party, Speaker of the XLIId and XLIIId Congresses. In that position his quickness of perception, decision of manner, thorough knowledge of parliamentary law and usages, and impartial and judicial mind, added to his clear voice and impressive presence, made him a most admirable presiding officer.

The Democratic party had a majority in the House in 1874, and one of the inevitable consequences of that state of affairs was the election of a Democratic Speaker. Mr. Blaine returned to the floor of the House, where his voice was heard with great effect in many a debate. He had something to say on nearly every question that came up for discussion, and his utterances were always positive and energetic. Among all the able disputants on the other side there was none who could equal him in adroitness and parliamentary skill. He was always ready to meet his adversaries, never lost his self-possession for a moment even under great provocation, and throughout his whole career on the floor of the House of Representatives, he was second to none as a leader of the Republican party.

CHAPTER V.

BLAINE IN THE SENATE.

Senator Morrill's Resignation.—Blaine Appointed to Vacancy.—Afterward Elected to Unexpired and Full Terms.—His Farewell Address to His Constituents.—Blaine's Action in the Senate on Important Measures.—Electoral Commission Bill.—The Bland Silver Bill.—Speech on Finances.—Effects of Inferior Standard Dollar.—A Dollar for the Chinese Colony and the Indian Pariah.—Restoration of American Shipping.—Speech Before New York Chamber of Commerce.—Efforts to Revive American Commerce.—A Startling Array of Figures.—Conflicting Opinions.—The Carrying Trade Gone to Other Countries.—False Trademarks.—The Business Stand of the World.

In 1876 Senator Morrill of Maine resigned his position in order to become Secretary of the Treasury. On the 10th of July, of that year, the Governor appointed Mr. Blaine to fill the vacancy caused by Senator Morrill's retirement. At the next meeting of the Legislature he was elected to fill the vacancy for the unexpired term, and afterwards for the ensuing term until May, 1883.

Soon after receiving his appointment as Senator he wrote an address to his constituents in his congressional

district, thanking them for their support and expressing the assurance that they would never be forgotten. In the course of this address he said:

"Beginning with 1862 you have, by continuous elections, sent me as your representative to the Congress of the United States. For such marked confidence I have endeavored to return the most zealous and devoted service in my power, and it is certainly not without a feeling of pain that I now surrender a trust by which I have always felt so signally honored. It has been my boast in public and in private that no man on the floor of Congress ever represented a constituency more distinguished for intelligence, for patriotism, for public and personal virtue. The cordial support you have so uniformly given me through these fourteen eventful years is the chief honor of my life. In closing the intimate relations I have so long held with the people of this district it is a great satisfaction to me to know that with returning health I shall enter upon a field of duty in which I can still serve them in common with the larger constituency of which they form a part."

His appointment to the Senate was enthusiastically received throughout the State, and from one end of Maine to the other the Governor's action was unanimously approved. The following, from the *Kennebec Journal*, may be taken as an indication of the popular sentiment on the subject:

"Fourteen years ago, standing in the convention at which he was first nominated, Mr. Blaine pledged himself to use his best services for the district, and to support to the best of his ability the policy of Abraham Lincoln to subdue the Rebellion, and then and there expressed plainly the idea that slavery must and ought to be abolished to save the Union. That he has kept his pledge faithfully his constituents know and feel, and the records of Congress attest. To this district his abilities were freely given, and as he rose in honor in the House and in the public estimation he reflected honor and gave strength to the constituency that supported him. Every step he made in advance was a gain for them. It was a grand thing for this district to have as its Representative in Congress for six years the Speaker of the House, filling the place next in importance to that of President of the United States, with matchless ability. It was a grander thing when he took the lead of the minority in the House last December, routed the Democratic majority, and drove back in dismay the ex-Confederates who were intending and expecting, through the advantage they had already gained, to grasp the supreme power in the nation and wield it in the interest of the cause of secession and rebellion revived. For what he has done as their representative in Congress never will this Third District of Maine forget to honor the name of James G. Blaine. It will live in the hearts of this

people even as the name of Henry Clay is still loved by the people of his old district in Kentucky."

For many years it had been the custom in the Senate for the new members to practice the virtue of silence and allow the older ones a monopoly of the speeches. This tradition was by no means welcome to a man of Mr. Blaine's temperament and he was not long in breaking through it. On every question of importance he had something to say and always with emphasis. He made a strong speech in favor of restricting Chinese immigration, which received both praise and abuse accordingly as the subject was considered by those who commented upon it.

Mr. Blaine voted against the Electoral Commission Bill, by which the election of 1876 was given to Hayes, and presented some very positive reasons for his action. He opposed the Bland Silver Bill in a speech of great force and favored the coinage of an honest dollar of silver. Many men who opposed his views at the time have since arrived at his way of thinking, and regard the Bland Silver Bill as he did when it was under discussion and about to become a law.

On the question of bimetallic or monometallic standard, Mr. Blaine said: "I believe the struggle now going on for a single gold standard, would, if successful, produce wide-spread disasters in the end throughout the commercial world. The destruction of silver as money

and establishing gold as the sole unit of value must have a ruinous effect on all forms of property, except those investments which yield a fixed return in money. These would be enormously enhanced in value, and would gain a disproportionate and unfair advantage over every other species of property. I believe the public creditor can afford to be paid in any silver dollar that the United States can afford to coin and circulate. We have forty thousand millions of property in this country, and a wise self-interest will not permit us to overturn its relations by seeking for an inferior dollar wherewith to settle the dues and demands of any creditor.

"The interest of the public creditor is indissolubly bound up with the interests of the whole people. Whatever affects him affects us; and the evil that we might inflict upon him by paying an inferior dollar would recoil upon us with a vengeance as manifold as the aggregate wealth of the Republic transcends the comparatively small limits of our bonded debt. If paid in a good silver dollar, the bondholder has nothing to complain of. If paid in an inferior silver dollar, he has the same grievance that will be uttered still more plaintively by the holder of the legal-tender note and of the national bank bill, by the pensioner, by the day laborer, and by the countless hosts of the poor, whom we have with us always, and on whom the most distressing effect of inferior money will be ultimately precipitated.

"Ever since we demonetized the old dollar we have been running our mints at full speed, coining a new silver dollar for the use of the Chinese cooly and the Indian pariah—a dollar containing 420 grains of standard silver, with its superiority over our ancient dollar ostentatiously engraved on its reverse side. To these outside barbarians we send this superior dollar, bearing all our national emblems, our patriotic devices, our pious inscriptions, our goddess of liberty, our defiant eagle, our federal unity, our trust in God."

Both in Congress and out of it Mr. Blaine has devoted much attention to the subject of the restoration of American commerce to the position it held before the Civil War, and the destruction of our shipping by Confederate cruisers of English construction, and fitted and manned in English ports. He has written many letters and made many speeches on the subject, all of them characterized by the minuteness of details for which he is famous. Coming from a ship-building state his attention was drawn to the matter at the very beginning of his political career and he has constantly kept himself thoroughly informed concerning all its features.

One of his most famous speeches on this subject was made at a dinner of the Chamber of Commerce of New York in 1880. It was regarded as a masterly presentation of the claims of American Commerce upon American Merchants and the means required for its restoration.

In the course of his speech on that occasion Mr. Blaine said:

"In reading the toast to which I am to respond, I really do not know exactly at what it is aimed. If it is aimed at me, it is to congratulate me on failure, and not on success. If it be a confession on the part of the Chamber of Commerce that this is their creed, then it is the beginning of the end of the victory to come; because, if I speak the voice of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York in that toast, I know that I speak with a voice far mightier than any that has been raised in Congress; and I have it to declare, that if it be the will of that chamber and of the people to initiate a policy for the revival of American commerce, then it is done.

"But you will permit me to say, speaking as an outsider, to the Chamber of Commerce, and coming as I do from a commercial State, that commerce needs a revival in this country. Every other interest in this country for the last fifteen years, even including the years 1866–67, a year of doubt and depression, has been gathering strength, and is ready to march forward to victory, save only the commerce of the Nation. Now I suppose, that figures are familiar to you, gentlemen, but the figures of American commerce in its decline are startling. Twenty years ago, of the tonnage engaged in the foreign trade of the United States, fully three-fourths was American.

Of the tonnage engaged in the foreign trade of the United States to-day, not one-fourth is American. In 1856–57, Great Britain, the leading Commercial Nation of the world, had only 950,000 tons engaged in the trade between the United States and that kingdom. She has 5,200,000 tons now. Germany then had but 166,000 tons; this last year she had 950,000 tons. Norway and Sweden, twenty years ago, had in trade between this country and their own but 20,000 tons; last year's reports show that they had 850,000 tons. Even Austria, penned up with a limited seaboard as she is, had in commerce with us, twenty years ago, not a vessel of her own; but last year she had no less than 220,000 tons. And I might go on thus through the whole list.

In this mighty increase of commerce from 4,400,000 to over 11,000,000 tons, the United States has gone backward, and all the vast profit of this trade has gone into the coffers of other nations. Let me ask of you here, what other interests have gone backward in that period? Have manufactures? They have outstripped emigration. Has agriculture? Why, it has gone ahead of every possible calculation. Has internal commerce? Why, we have increased from 30,000 to 68,000 miles of railroads, and the Government of the United States, besides giving sixty millions in money, has given to internal commerce over 200,000,000 acres of the public domain—more than New York, New Jersey, Pensylvania, Ohio,

and Maryland combined. And meantime she has protected by tariff every article that the American artisan and the American capitalist would invest in the manufacture of. But for the foreign commerce of this country, what has she done? Left it to the alien and the stranger; and in the last ten years, the value of the products carried between this country and foreign countries has exceeded $11,000,000,000, out of the carrying of which, somebody has made $110,000,000 per annum—a sum far larger than the interest of the public debt. And who has made this money? France, England, Germany. Everybody excepting the United States. Think of it! $110,000,000 in gold coin has gone out of the commerce of this country into the commerce of other countries. Can New York stand this? Can this great port sustain such loss as this, with all her unbounded advantages of position and resources, and with the magnificent continental commerce that stands behind her? I say, gentlemen, that if the carrying trade of this country, aggregating $110,000,000, is permanently turned from us, then the question of specie payment becomes one of far more complicated difficulty than it is to-day.

"To-day you can put a barrel of flour or a bushel of wheat from Chicago into Liverpool at a cheaper rate than you could bring it, ten years ago, from Buffalo to New York. With the cheap rates for freights, there-

fore, the great landed estates of England that are rented at £2 to £2 10s. per acre, cannot pretend to compete with products that are raised on lands the fee simple of which is not half as much as the annual rental of the English lands. In view of these facts, I say we are destined to feed the world, because we can do it cheaper than anybody else can do it. Why, the tonnage from New York to Buffalo was $85 a ton the year before the Erie Canal was opened, but it fell to $9 a ton a year afterward. That was considered a marvel. And yet, that is more than it is to-day from the far Northwest, from Minneapolis to the principal ports of Europe.

"There is nothing that we have not done in this country to encourage railroad building. Why, it is one continuous route from Chicago to Liverpool; but we take one thousand miles and give three thousand miles to the foreigner, and that is the way we are dividing our carrying trade. Why should we not carry it across the sea, and if they can make profit in doing it, so can we. If New York will throw her heart into this matter, the rest will follow, and then we will have the commercial, manufacturing, and agricultural interests of our country going forward, hand in hand, as they should go, mutually supporting each other. I know there is a difference of opinion as to the means by which this is to be accomplished.

"One man says, 'tear down your navigation laws, and let us have free ships.' Now, I am opposed to that, because that does not tend to build up American commerce. I don't believe in false trade-marks. I don't believe that buying a British ship, and calling her an American ship, makes her an American ship. I believe that this very day and hour every single article that goes into the manufacture of a ship, can be produced and made as well here as in any spot on this earth. Just so long as this country fails to become, or delays its arrival at the position of a great and triumphal commercial nation, just so long it is defeating the ends of Providence. We have 17,000 miles of our coast line looking toward Europe, Asia, and Africa, giving us a larger sea frontage than all Europe, beginning at Archangel and running to the pillars of Hercules, and beyond them to the gates of Trebizond. Ralph Waldo Emerson has said that England was great because she had the best business stand on the globe. That was, perhaps, once true. But it is true no longer. To-day the best business stand is changed, and it is to be found in the United States, and your great imperial city, with its matchless commercial connections and position, and its magnificent harbor, is destined to be, under the enterprize and guidance of its merchants, what London has dreamed of, but never yet has realized."

CHAPTER VI.

BLAINE IN DIPLOMACY.

General Garfield asks for an Interview with Mr. Blaine soon after the Election of 1880.—Offers of the Portfolio of Secretary of State. —His Great Surprise.—His Hesitation and Acceptance.—His Letter to Garfield.—His Great Friendship for Garfield.—Blaine's Diplomatic Career.—Efforts for Peace in South America.—Proposed Congress of American Nations.—What it was Expected to Accomplish. —An Important and Impressive Step.—Applying Christian Principles to the Affairs of Nations.—The Monroe Doctrine.—The Panama Canal.—English Hostility to Blaine, and its Cause.

The election of 1880, determined that General Garfield would be inaugurated President of the United States on the fourth of March of the following year. A short time after the election, General Garfield wrote to Mr. Blaine, asking for a meeting in Washington about November 24th. The invitation was accepted, and the two gentlemen met at Garfield's residence in the national Capital, on the afternoon of November 26th. They were closely closeted for two hours, and during the interview General Garfield tendered to Mr. Blaine the

portfolio of Secretary of State, without making any reservation whatever concerning it.

As soon as Mr. Blaine had recovered from his surprise, he asked for time to consider the offer. General Garfield urged him to accept at once, but Mr. Blaine declined, and said the matter was too important to be disposed of in a moment.

On the following day, Mr. Blaine communicated the fact of the offer to some of his confidential friends, and told them he was inclined to accept it provided the selection was approved by the sentiment of the country. His friends urged him to accept, as they felt confident that the voice of the press and public would endorse the choice of the President-elect.

In the early part of December it was positively announced in newspapers friendly to the incoming administration that General Garfield had invited Senator Blaine to become Secretary of State in the incoming cabinet. Of course the selection was opposed in some quarters, though it met with general approval throughout the country. When this fact became known to Mr. Blaine, he wrote the following letter of acceptance:—

"WASHINGTON, Dec. 20, 1880.

"MY DEAR GARFIELD: Your generous invitation to enter your cabinet as Secretary of State has been under consideration for more than three weeks. The thought

had really never occurred to my mind until at our late conference you presented it with such cogent arguments in its favor, and with such warmth of personal friendship in aid of your kind offer.

"I know that an early answer is desirable, and I have waited only long enough to consider the subject in all its bearings, and to make up my mind, definitely and conclusively. I now say to you, in the same cordial spirit in which you have invited me, that I accept the position.

"It is no affectation for me to add that I make this decision, not for the honor of the promotion it gives me in the public service, but because I think I can be useful to the country and to the party; useful to you as the responsible leader of the party and the great head of the government.

"I am influenced somewhat, perhaps, by the shower of letters I have received urging me to accept, written to me in consequence of the mere unauthorized newspaper report that you had been pleased to offer me the place. While I have received these letters from all sections of the Union, I have been especially pleased and even surprised at the cordial and widely-extended feeling in my favor throughout New England, where I had expected to encounter local jealousy and perhaps rival aspiration.

"In our new relation I shall give all that I am and all that I can hope to be, freely and joyfully, to your service. You need no pledge of my loyalty in heart and in

act. I should be false to myself did I not prove true both to the great trust you confide to me and to your own personal and political fortunes in the present and in the future. Your administration must be made brilliantly successful and strong in the confidence and pride of the people, not at all directing its energies for reëlection, and yet compelling that result by the logic of events, and by the imperious necessities of the situation.

"To that most desirable consummation I feel that, next to yourself, I can possibly contribute as much influence as any other one man. I say this not from egotism or vain-glory, but merely as a deduction from a plain analysis of the political forces which have been at work in the country for five years past, and which have been significantly shown in two great national conventions. I accept it as one of the happiest circumstances connected with this affair that in allying my political fortunes with yours—or rather for the time merging mine in yours—my heart goes with my head, and that I carry to you not only political support but personal and devoted friendship. I can but regard it as somewhat remarkable that two men of the same age, entering Congress at the same time, influenced by the same aims and cherishing the same ambitions, should never, for a single moment in eighteen years of close intimacy, have had a misunderstanding or a coolness, and that our friendship has steadily grown with our growth and strengthened with our strength.

"It is this fact which has led me to the conclusion embodied in this letter; for however much, my dear Garfield, I might admire you as a statesman, I would not enter your cabinet if I did not believe in you as a man and love you as a friend. Always faithfully yours.

"JAMES G. BLAINE."

Mr. Blaine's diplomatic career covers a period of nine months, terminating with his resignation December 19, 1881. On assuming the office of Secretary of State on the accession of President Garfield, he declared that his policy would he to bring about peace and prevent future wars in North and South America, and to cultivate such friendly relations with all American countries as would lead to a large increase in the seaport trade of the United States. The right and duty of the United States to assert and maintain such supervision and authority over any inter-oceanic canal across the isthmus that connects North and South America as would protect our national interests had been asserted by President Garfield in his inaugural address. Congress had approved the proposed policy, and Mr. Blaine determined that he would support it. At his suggestion the European governments were advised of the exclusive rights that this government had secured with the country which the proposed waterway would traverse, and the powers were notified that any foreign guarantee of neutrality

would be an unfriendly act, as well as totally unnecessary. According to the terms of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850, the United States had entered into a special agreement with Great Britain on this subject; Mr. Blaine made a formal proposal to the powers for the abrogation of all provisions of that convention which were not in accord with the guarantees and privileges convenanted for in the compact with the Colombian Republic, the latter having shortly before proposed to the European powers to join in a guarantee of the neutrality of the proposed Panama canal.

The papers in reference to this case were amongst the most elaborate of all receiving his signature as Secretary of State during his nine months of office. Mr. Blaine claimed that according to the terms of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, the right was conceded to Great Britain to control any canal which might be built across the isthmus, as that power, owing to its insular position and colonial possessions, was compelled to maintain a naval establishment with which the United States would not compete. "The treaty," wrote Mr. Blaine, "commands this government not to use a single regiment of troops to protect its interests in connection with the inter-oceanic canal, but to surrender the transit to the guardianship and control of the British navy." Mr. Blaine's argument was considered unanswerable.

The war between Chili and Peru, which was brought

to a close in January, 1881, by the occupation of the Peruvian Capital by the victorious Chilians, also claimed Mr. Blaine's attention, and efforts were made on his part to bring about a treaty of peace between the two countries. With this end in view Mr. Blaine sent his son, Walker Blaine, and Mr. Trescott as special envoys to confer with Pierola, the President of Peru, who had fled some distance from Lima, Calderon, the provisional resident at Lima, and the Government of Chili. The result of their mission was watched with much interest, and it was hoped that Mr. Blaine's endeavors in the interest of peace would bear good results. Before negotiations could be entered upon by the envoys Mr. Blaine had resigned the portfolio of the State Department, and his successor countermanded the instructions he (Blaine) had given. Mr. Blaine's step was a bold, strong, and pacific one. Its reversal led to a period of no-policy by which means Chili was allowed to dictate most exacting terms with Peru.

Mr. Blaine's proposition for a Peace Congress composed of the Governments of North and South America was, perhaps, the most notable event during his career as Secretary of State. The object of the congress was the agreement, if possible, upon some plan by which war would be averted between any two or more of the parties represented at the congress. The conference, it was intended, should likewise adopt some means of arbitra-

tion for preserving peace in the future. The subject of resisting the intrigues of European diplomacy was also to be discussed. This brilliant idea, which would undoubtedly have resulted in closer relationship with our continental neighbors, if nothing more important, also resulted in no good, Mr. Blaine's successor having also countermanded the convention of the proposed congress. Mr. Blaine's suggestion was generally approved wherever it was understood, and it was regarded as certain that all troubles between the different American States could be quickly, satisfactorily, and effectually adjusted by means of a system of arbitration.

Commenting upon the proposed treaty, one writer says:

"The triumph of Christian principles, as applied to the affairs of nations, was within our grasp, and could have been reached by the mere asking for it. Its influence throughout Christendom would have been immense, and generations of men yet to come would have learned to bless the seventeen nations of the new world, and speak the name of Blaine with reverence."

Concerning the proposed Congress of American States Mr. Blaine wrote shortly after:

"It was an important and impressive step on the part of the United States toward closer relationship with our continental neighbors. In no event could harm have resulted in the assembling of a Peace Congress. Failure was next to impossible. Success might be regarded as certain. The subject to be discussed was peace, and how

it can be permanently preserved in North and South America. The labors of the congress would have probably ended in a well-digested system of arbitration, under which all troubles between American States could be quickly, effectually, and satisfactorily adjusted. Such a consummation would have been worth a great struggle and a great sacrifice. It could have been reached without any struggle, and would have involved no sacrifice. It was within our grasp. It was ours for the asking. It would have been a signal victory of philanthropy over the selfishness of human ambition; a complete triumph of Christian principles as applied to the affairs of Nations. It would have reflected enduring honor on our new country, and would have imparted a new spirit and a new brotherhood to all America. Nor would its influence beyond the sea have been small. The example of seventeen independent nations solemnly agreeing to abolish the arbitrament of the sword, and to settle every dispute by peaceful methods of adjudication, would have exerted an influence to the utmost confines of civilization, and upon the generations of men yet to come."

It was not to be expected that England would look with satisfaction on the efforts of Mr. Blaine to establish such relations with the South American states as would tend to increase the commerce of the United States in that direction, and proportionally diminish the volume of British trade. The English papers of that time had a

great deal to say on the subject, and from a British point of view the wickedness of his action was plainly indicated. Mr. Blaine has been an earnest advocate of direct trade with South America, and the congress of American nations was an important movement for securing the desired result.

The day after his nomination for the Presidency, the *Pall Mall Gazette* published the following, under the heading, "A Beaconsfield Beyond the Sea:"

"Mr. Blaine's nomination is the most notable event for England since President Lincoln was assassinated. *Wherever Mr. Blaine can oust the British from the position they hold* on the American Continent he *will endeavor to replace English influence and trade by American.* His menacing intimation that he would disregard the Clayton-Bulwer treaty is an evil augury for the future relations of England and America. His intervention in Peru was most ominous when he declared that he disliked England to win commercial triumphs in fields which legitimately belong to America. England will watch with extreme solicitude the progress of the Electoral campaign."

There is no question but that "England will watch with extreme solicitude the progress of the Electoral campaign," and, should it result in the election of Mr. Blaine, there is no doubt that the event will be regarded as a calamity in the minds of many British merchants. The American merchant and the American manufacturer

will have a different feeling on the subject; there will be a prospect of regaining a part, at least, of the trade that has gone from us to Great Britain, and the *Pall Mall Gazette* states the case fairly when it says: "Wherever Mr. Blaine can oust the British from the commercial position they hold on the American Continent he will endeavor to replace English influence and trade by American."

CHAPTER VII.

BLAINE'S EULOGY ON GARFIELD.

Assassination of President Garfield.—Mr. Blaine's Narrow Escape.—His Devotion to the Wounded President.—His Celebrated Eulogy on Garfield.—A Masterpiece of Eloquence.—How it was Received.—A Distinguished Audience.—Breathless Attention.—Comparison between 1865 and 1881.—The Ancestors of Garfield.—Cause of the English and French Emigrations to America.—Garfield's Boyhood.—A Life of Privation and Poverty.—His Struggle for Education.—Youth and College Days.—His Military Life and Record.—Rare Honors.—His Career in Congress.—Garfield's Place in History.—His Services as President.—Religious Convictions.—Closing Scenes of an Honorable Life.

On the morning of July 2d, 1881, President Garfield went to the station of the Baltimore & Potomac railway to take the limited express train for New York, on his way to a reunion with his classmates of Williams College. Mr. Blaine accompanied him to the station and was walking arm-in-arm with his chief when the report of Guiteau's pistol rang through the building. Garfield was shot down by the hand of an assassin, and during the weeks that he lingered the nation was without a responsible head. The story is too well known to need

ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT GARFIELD.—JAMES G. BLAINE AT THE SIDE OF THE WOUNDED PRESIDENT.

repetition here. The whole civilized world shared in the sorrow of the Western Republic, and from every land came expressions of sympathy at the Nation's loss.

Throughout all that weary and dreadful time, Mr. Blaine's devotion to the President was unflagging. Day by day and night by night, he was at the bedside of the sufferer, endeavoring by every means in his power to soothe the pain of the assassin's victim. At the same time he was earnest in attention to his official duties, and it is the universal testimony of all familiar with the events that clustered around President and Cabinet from the Second of July till the day of Garfield's death that the conduct of Mr. Blaine was without fault.

By vote of Congress Mr. Blaine was selected to deliver a formal eulogy upon President Garfield. Of this duty he acquitted himself on the 19th of February, 1882, before an audience which included President Arthur and his Cabinet, both Houses of Congress, the Supreme Court of the United States, the Foreign Legations, and many other distinguished personages, that filled the Hall of the House of Representatives to its utmost capacity. The address was a just and careful review of the life and career of the martyred President, and a most eloquent tribute to his memory. Garfield's place in history was clearly defined, and the address was listened to with breathless attention, from the first to the final word of the speaker's utterance.

The following extracts are presented with the regret that space does not permit the reproduction of the entire text of the oration. They are from a copy published with the authorization of Mr. Blaine, and from the manuscript that was prepared by him.

BLAINE'S EULOGY ON GARFIELD.

"Mr. President.—For the second time in this generation the great departments of the Government of the United States are assembled in the Hall of Representatives to do honor to the memory of a murdered President. Lincoln fell at the close of a mighty struggle in which the passions of men had been deeply stirred. The tragical termination of his great life added but another to the lengthened succession of horrors which had marked so many lintels with the blood of the first-born. Garfield was slain in a day of peace, when brother had been reconciled to brother, and when anger and hate had been banished from the land.

"From the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth till the uprising against Charles I, about twenty thousand emigrants came from Old England to New England. As they came in pursnit of intellectual freedom and ecclesiastical independence rather than for worldly honor and profit, the emigration naturally ceased when the contest for religious liberty began in earnest at home. The English emigration was never renewed ; and from these twenty thousand men, with a small emigration from Scotland and from France, are descended the vast numbers who have New England blood in their veins.

"In 1685 the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV scattered to other countries four hundred thousand Protestants, who were among the most intelligent and enterprising of French subjects,—merchants of capital, skilled manufacturers, and handi-

craftsmen, superior at the time to all others in Europe. A considerable number of these Huguenot French came to America; a few landed in New England, and became honorably prominent in its history.

"From these two sources, the English-Puritan and the French-Huguenot, came the late President; his father, Abram Garfield, being descended from the one, and his mother, Eliza Ballou, from the other.

"It was good stock on both sides—none better, none braver, none truer. There was in it an inheritance of courage, of manliness, of imperishable love of liberty, of undying adherence to principle. Garfield was proud of his blood; and, with as much satisfaction as if he were a British nobleman reading his stately ancestral record in Burke's Peerage, he spoke of himself as ninth in descent from those who would not endure the oppression of the Stuarts, and seventh in descent from the brave French Protestants who refused to submit to tyranny even from the Grand Monarque.

"Gen. Garfield delighted to dwell on these traits; and, during his only visit to England, he busied himself in discovering every trace of his forefathers in parish registries and on ancient army rolls. Sitting with a friend in the gallery of the House of Commons one night, after a long day's labor in this field of research, he said with evident elation that in every war in which for three centuries patriots of English blood had struck sturdy blows for constitutional government and human liberty, his family had been represented. They were at Marston Moor, at Naseby, and at Preston; they were at Bunker Hill, at Saratoga, and at Monmouth; and in his own person had battled for the same great cause in the war which preserved the Union of the States.

"Losing his father before he was two years old, the early life of Garfield was one of privation; but its poverty has been made

indelicately and unjustly prominent. Thousands of readers have imagined him as the ragged, starving child, whose reality too often greets the eye in the squalid sections of our large cities. Gen. Garfield's infancy and youth had none of their destitution, none of their pitiful features, appealing to the tender heart and to the open hand of charity. He was a poor boy in the same sense in which Henry Clay was a poor boy; in which Andrew Jackson was a poor boy; in which Daniel Webster was a poor boy; in the sense in which a large majority of the eminent men of America in all generations have been poor boys.

"The poverty of the frontier is, indeed, no poverty. It is but the beginning of wealth, and has the boundless possibilities of the future always opening before it. No man ever grew up in the agricultural regions of the West where a house-raising, or even a corn-husking, is matter of common interest and hopefulness, with any other feeling than that of broad-minded, generous independence. This honorable independence marked the youth of Garfield as it marks the youth of millions of the best blood and brain now training for the future citizenship and future government of the Republic.

"Garfield's early opportunities for securing an education were extremely limited, and yet were sufficient to develop in him an intense desire to learn. He could read at three years of age, and each winter he had the advantage of the district school. He read all the books to be found within the circle of his acquaintance: some of them he got by heart. While yet in childhood he was a constant student of the Bible, and became familiar with its literature. The dignity and earnestness of his speech in his maturer life gave evidence of this early training. At eighteen years of age he was able to teach school, and thenceforward his ambition was to obtain a college education. To this end he bent all his efforts,

working in the harvest-field, at the carpenter's bench, and, in the winter season, teaching the common schools of the neighborhood. While thus laboriously occupied he found time to prosecute his studies, and was so successful that at twenty-two years of age he was able to enter the junior class at Williams College.

"From his graduation at Williams onward, to the hour of his tragical death, Garfield's career was eminent and exceptional. Slowly working through his educational period, receiving his diploma when twenty-four years of age, he seemed at one bound to spring into conspicuous and brilliant success. Within six years he was successively president of a college, State Senator of Ohio, major-general of the Army of the United States, and representative elect to the National Congress. A combination of honors so varied, so elevated, within a period so brief and to a man so young, is without precedent or parallel in the history of the country.

"Garfield's army life was begun with no other military knowledge than such as he had hastily gained from books in the few months preceding his march to the field. Stepping from civil life to the head of a regiment, the first order he received when ready to cross the Ohio was to assume command of a brigade, and to operate as an independent force in Eastern Kentucky. Seldom, if ever, has a young college professor been thrown into a more embarrassing and discouraging position. He knew just enough of military science, as he expressed it himself, to measure the extent of his ignorance; and with a handful of men he was marching, in rough winter weather, into a strange country, among a hostile population, to confront a largely superior force under the command of a distinguished graduate of West Point, who had seen active and important service in two preceding wars.

"The result of the campaign is matter of history. The skill, the endurance, the extraordinary energy, shown by Garfield, the

courage he imparted to his men, raw and untried as himself, the measures he adopted to increase his force and to create in the enemy's mind exaggerated estimates of his numbers, bore perfect fruit in the routing of Marshall, the capture of his camp, the dispersion of his force, and the emancipation of an important territory from the control of the Rebellion. Coming at the close of a long series of disasters to the Union arms, Garfield's victory had an unusual and extraneous importance, and in the popular judgment elevated the young commander to the rank of a military hero. Major-Gen. Buell, commanding the Department of the Ohio, declared that his service had called into action the highest qualities of a soldier; and President Lincoln supplemented these words of praise by the more substantial reward of a brigadier-general's commission.

"The subsequent military career of Garfield fully sustained its brilliant beginning. With his new commission he was assigned to the command of a brigade in the Army of the Ohio, and took part in the second and decisive day's fight in the great battle of Shiloh. The remainder of the year 1862 was not especially eventful to Garfield, as it was not to the armies with which he was serving.

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"Early in 1863 Garfield was assigned to the highly important and responsible post of chief-of-staff to Gen. Rosecrans, then at the head of the Army of the Cumberland. He found various troubles already well developed and seriously affecting the value and efficiency of the Army of the Cumberland. The energy, the impartiality, and the tact with which he sought to allay these dissensions, and to discharge the duties of his new and trying position, will always remain one of the most striking proofs of his great versatility. His military duties closed on the memorable field of Chickamauga, a field which, however disastrous to the

Union arms, gave to him the occasion of winning imperishable laurels. The very rare distinction was accorded him of a great promotion for his bravery on a field that was lost. President Lincoln appointed him a major-general in the Army of the United States, for gallant and meritorious conduct in the battle of Chickamauga.

"The Army of the Cumberland was re-organized under the command of Gen. Thomas, who promptly offered Garfield one of its divisions. He was extremely desirous to accept the position, but was embarrassed by the fact that he had, a year before, been elected to Congress, and the time when he must take his seat was drawing near. Desirous above all things to do his patriotic duty, he was decisively influenced by the advice of President Lincoln and Secretary Stanton, both of whom assured him that he could at that time be of special value in the House of Representatives. He resigned his commission of major-general on the fifth day of December, 1863, and took his seat in the House of Representatives on the seventh.

"The Thirty-eighth Congress is pre-eminently entitled in history to the designation of the War Congress. It was elected while the war was flagrant, and every member was chosen upon the issues involved in the continuance of the struggle. Only twenty-four States were represented, and one hundred and eighty-two members were upon its roll. Among these were many distinguished party leaders on both sides, veterans in public service, with established reputations for ability, and with that skill which comes only from parliamentary experience. Into this assemblage of men Garfield entered without special preparation, and it might almost be said unexpectedly. The question of taking command of a division of troops under Gen. Thomas, or taking his seat in, Congress, was kept open till the last moment, — so late, indeed

that the resignation of his military commission and his appearance in the House were almost contemporaneous. He wore the uniform of a major-general of the United States Army on Saturday; and on Monday, in civilian's dress, he answered to the roll-call as a Representative in Congress from the State of Ohio.

"The great measure of Garfield's fame was filled by his service in the House of Representatives. His military life, illustrated by honorable performance, and rich in promise, was, as he himself felt, prematurely terminated, and necessarily incomplete. Speculation as to what he might have done, in a field where the great prizes are so few, cannot be profitable. It is sufficient to say that as a soldier he did his duty bravely, he did it intelligently, he won an enviable fame, and he retired from the service without blot or breath against him. As a lawyer, though admirably equipped for the profession, he can scarcely be said to have entered on its practice. The few efforts that he made at the bar were distinguished by the same high order of talent which he exhibited on every field where he was put to the test; and, if a man may be accepted as a competent judge of his own capacities and adaptations, the law was the profession to which Garfield should have devoted himself. But fate ordained otherwise, and his reputation in history will rest largely upon his service in the House of Representatives. That service was exceptionally long. He was nine times consecutively chosen to the House, an honor enjoyed by not more than six other Representatives of the more than five thousand who have been elected from the organization of the government to this hour.

"As a parliamentary orator, as a debater on an issue squarely joined, where the position had been chosen and the ground laid out, Garfield must be assigned a very high rank. More, perhaps, than any man with whom he was associated in public life, he gave

careful and systematic study to public questions, and he came to every discussion in which he took part with elaborate and complete preparation. He was a steady and indefatigable worker. He was a pre-eminently fair and candid man in debate, took no petty advantage, stooped to no unworthy methods, avoided personal allusions, rarely appealed to prejudice, did not seek to inflame passion. He had a quicker eye for the strong point of his adversary than for his weak point, and on his own side he so marshaled his weighty arguments as to make his hearers forget any possible lack in the complete strength of his position. He had a habit of stating his opponent's side with such amplitude of fairness and such liberality of concession that his followers often complained that he was giving his case away. But never in his prolonged participation in the proceedings of the House did he give his case away, or fail, in the judgment of competent and impartial listeners, to gain the mastery.

"Those unfamiliar with Garfield's industry, and ignorant of the details of his work, may, in some degree, measure them by the annals of Congress. No one of the generation of public men to which he belonged has contributed so much that will be valuable for future reference. His speeches are numerous, many of them brilliant, all of them well studied, carefully phrased, and exhaustive of the subject under consideration. Collected from the scattered pages of ninety royal octavo volumes of Congressional Record, they would present an invaluable compendium of the political history of the most important era through which the National Government has ever passed. When the history of this period shall be impartially written, when war legislation, measures of reconstruction, protection of human rights, amendments to the Constitution, maintenance of public credit, steps towards specie resumption, true theories of revenue, may be reviewed, unsur-

rounded by prejudice and disconnected from partisanism, the speeches of Garfield will be estimated at their true value, and will be found to comprise a vast magazine of fact and argument, of clear analysis and sound conclusion.

"Garfield's nomination to the Presidency, while not predicted or anticipated, was not a surprise to the country. His prominence in Congress, his solid qualities, his wide reputation, strengthened by his then recent election as a Senator from Ohio, kept him in the public eye as a man occupying the very highest rank among those entitled to be called statesmen. As a candidate he steadily grew in popular favor. He was met with a storm of detraction at the very hour of his nomination, and it continued with increasing volume and momentum until the close of his victorious campaign.

> "'No might nor greatness in mortality
> Can censure 'scape; back-wounding calumny
> The whitest virtue strikes. What king so strong
> Can tie the gall up in the slanderous tongue?'

"Under it all he was calm and strong and confident; never lost his self-possession, did no unwise act, spoke no hasty or ill-considered word. Indeed, nothing in his whole life is more remarkable or more creditable than his bearing through those five full months of vituperation,—a prolonged agony of trial to a sensitive man, a constant and cruel draft upon the powers of moral endurance. The great mass of these unjust imputations passed unnoticed, and with the general *débris* of the campaign fell into oblivion. But in a few instances the iron entered his soul, and he died with the injury unforgotten if not unforgiven.

"In the beginning of his presidential life Garfield's experience did not yield him pleasure or satisfaction. The duties that engross so large a portion of the President's time were distasteful to him, and were unfavorably contrasted with his legislative work. But,

while many of the executive duties were not grateful to him, he was assiduous and conscientious in their discharge. From the very outset he exhibited administrative talent of a high order. He grasped the helm of office with the hand of a master. His disposition of business was orderly and rapid. His power of analysis, and his skill in classification, enabled him to dispatch a vast mass of detail with singular promptness and ease. His Cabinet meetings were admirably conducted. His clear presentation of official subjects, his well-considered suggestion of topics on which discussion was invited, his quick decision when all had been heard, combined to show a thoroughness of mental training as rare as his natural ability and his facile adaptation to a new and enlarged field of labor.

"Garfield's ambition for the success of his administration was high. With strong caution and conservatism in his nature, he was in no danger of attempting rash experiments or of resorting to the empiricism of statesmanship. But he believed that renewed and closer attention should be given to questions affecting the material interests and commercial prospects of fifty millions of people. He believed that our continental relations, extensive and undeveloped as they are, involved responsibility, and could be cultivated into profitable friendship or be abandoned to harmful indifference or lasting enmity. He believed with equal confidence that an essential forerunner to a new era of national progress must be a feeling of contentment in every section of the Union, and a generous belief that the benefits and burdens of government would be common to all. He was an American in all his aspirations, and he looked to the destiny and influence of the United States with the philosophic composure of Jefferson and the demonstrative confidence of John Adams.

"The religious element in Garfield's character was deep and

earnest. In his early youth he espoused the faith of the Disciples, a sect of that great Baptist communion, which in different ecclesiastical establishments is so numerous and so influential throughout all parts of the United States. But the broadening tendency of his mind and his active spirit of inquiry were early apparent, and carried him beyond the dogma's sect and the restraints of association. In selecting a college in which to continue his education, he rejected Bethany, though presided over by Alexander Campbell, the greatest preacher of his Church. His reasons were characteristic: first, that Bethany leaned too heavily toward slavery; and, second, that being himself a Disciple, and the son of Disciple parents, he had little acquaintance with people of other beliefs, and he thought it would make him more liberal,—quoting his own words,—both in his religious and general views, to go into a new circle, and be under new influences.

"The liberal tendency which he anticipated as the result of wider culture was fully realized. He was emancipated from mere sectarian belief, and with eager interest pushed his investigations in the direction of modern progressive thought. He followed with quickening step in the paths of exploration and speculation so fearlessly trodden by Darwin, by Huxley, by Tyndall, and by other living scientists of the radical and advanced type. But after this range of speculation, and this latitude of doubt, Garfield came back always with freshness and delight to the simpler instincts of religious faith, which, earliest implanted, longest survive. Not many weeks before his assassination, walking on the banks of the Potomac with a friend, and conversing on those topics of personal religion concerning which noble natures have an unconquerable reserve, he said that he found the Lord's Prayer and the simple petitions learned in infancy infinitely restful to him, not merely in their stated repetition, but in their casual and frequent recall as he went about the daily duties of life.

"The crowning characteristic of Gen. Garfield's religious opinions, as, indeed, of all his opinions, was his liberality. In all things he had charity. Tolerance was of his nature. He respected in others the qualities which he possessed himself, — sincerity of conviction, and frankness of expression. With him the inquiry was not so much what a man believes, but, does he believe it? The lines of his friendship and his confidence encircled men of every creed, and men of no creed; and to the end of his life, on his ever-lengthening list of friends, were to be found the names of a pious Catholic priest and of an honest-minded and generous-hearted free-thinker.

"On the morning of Saturday, July 2, the President was a contented and happy man — not in an ordinary degree, but joyfully, almost boyishly happy. On his way to the railroad-station to which he drove slowly, in conscious enjoyment of the beautiful morning, with an unwonted sense of leisure and a keen anticipation of pleasure, his talk was all in the grateful and gratulatory vein.

"Surely, if happiness can ever come from the honors or triumphs of this world, on that quiet July morning James A. Garfield may well have been a happy man. No foreboding of evil haunted him; no slightest premonition of danger clouded his sky. His terrible fate was upon him in an instant. One moment he stook erect, strong, confident in the years stretching peacefully out before him. The next he lay wounded, bleeding, helpless, doomed to weary weeks of torture, to silence, and the grave.

"Great in life, he was surpassingly great in death. For no cause, in the very frenzy of wantonness and wickedness, by the red hand of murder, he was thrust from the full tide of this world's interest, from its hopes, its aspirations, its victories, into the visible presence of death — and he did not quail. Not alone

for the one short moment in which, stunned and dazed, he could give up life, hardly aware of its relinquishment, but through days of deadly languor, through weeks of agony, that was not less agony because silently borne, with clear sight and calm courage, he looked into his open grave. What blight and ruin met his anguished eyes, whose lips may tell!—what brilliant broken plans, what baffled high ambitions, what sundering of strong warm manhood's friendships, what bitter rending of sweet household ties! Behind him a proud, expectant nation, a great host of sustaining friends; a cherished and happy mother, wearing the full, rich honors of her early toil and tears; the wife of his youth, whose whole life lay in his; the little boys not yet emerged from childhood's day of frolic; the fair young daughter; the sturdy sons just springing into closest companionship, claiming every day and every day rewarding a father's love and care; and in his heart the eager, rejoicing power to meet all demands. Before him, desolation and great darkness! And his soul was not shaken. His countrymen were thrilled with instant, profound, and universal sympathy. Masterful in mortal weakness, he became the center of a nation's love, enshrined in the prayers of a world. But all the love and all the sympathy could not share with him the suffering. He trod the wine-press alone. With unfaltering front he faced death. With unfailing tenderness he took leave of life. Above the demoniac hiss of the assassin's bullet he heard the voice of God. With simple resignation he bowed to the divine decree.

"As the end drew near, his early craving for the sea returned. The stately mansion of power had been to him the wearisome hospital of pain; and he begged to be taken from its prison walls, from its oppressive, stifling air, from its homelessness and its hopelessness. Gently, silently, the love of a great people bore the pale sufferer to the longed-for healing of the sea, to live or to

die, as God should will, within sight of its heaving billows, within sound of its manifold voices. With wan, fevered face tenderly lifted to the cooling breeze, he looked out wistfully upon the ocean's changing wonders, — on its fair sails, whitening in the morning light; on its restless waves, rolling shoreward to break and die beneath the noonday sun; on the red clouds of evening, arching low to the horizon; on the serene and shining pathway of the stars. Let us think that his dying eyes read a mystic meaning which only the rapt and parting soul may know. Let us believe that in the silence of the receding world he heard the great waves breaking on a farther shore, and felt already upon his wasted brow the breath of the eternal morning."

CHAPTER VIII.

BLAINE AND HIS PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS.

Personal Magnetism of Mr. Blaine.—His Character Among His Friends.—His Powers as a Conversationalist.—Reminded of Little Stories.—An Anecdote to the Point.—"How Salt this Soup is! but I Like it."—How he is Regarded at Home.—Personal Friends Among Democrats.—Reminiscences of Hon. Robert E. Williams of Illinois.—Chums at College.—Blaine's Ambition to be a Journalist.—Meeting after an Interval of Thirty Years.—Blaine's Recognition of His Old Friend.—"Bobby Williams."—Story of an Introduction at a Reception.—How a Stranger was Impressed.—Magnetism at the Chicago Convention.—Excitement among Delegates and Speculators—A Correspondent's Interview.—The White Dove at Chicamauga.—Blaine's Prank with the Haystack.

Every positive man in this world has many friends unless he is peculiarly constituted, and, on the other hand, he generally has a goodly array of enemies. Mr. Blaine is no exception to this rule. He is described as warm-hearted in the fullest meaning of that oft-abused word, ready to do all in his power to aid his friends without thought of a possible return for his efforts, and an embodiment of charity and generosity whose like is not easy to find. His personal magnetism has been made the sub-

ject of many a graphic story, and the influence of his name upon multitudes who never met him face to face is indicated by the wild enthusiasm that greeted his nomination at Chicago. Men who have attended all the National Conventions for the last twenty years say it has never been surpassed in a single instance and many of them declare it has never been equaled. And all this for a man who had been for three years out of public life, was not on friendly terms with the administration, and had not an office to bestow upon one of his followers. If there was any other than unalloyed and spontaneous enthusiasm for the nominee and the Republican cause, it must have been inspired by that gratitude which has been defined as a lively anticipation of favors to come, and they could not very well come until after the election.

There is abundant testimony to the genial nature of the Republican nominee for the Presidency among those who know him in public as well as in private life. As a conversationalist he holds high rank, and he could hardly be otherwise when we remember his readiness in debate as shown during his career in Congress. Many a man can talk well in private who is a poor orator, but the good orator is pretty certain to carry his talking abilities wherever he goes. Mr. Blaine is an excellent raconteur and has always an abundance of ancedotes ready for use; he does not appear to charge his memory with them, but they come up without effort whenever occasion requires.

One who knows him intimately says that when with Mr. Blaine he often thinks of the late President Lincoln in consequence of the frequency with which the man from Maine is reminded of a little story. His anecdotes are nearly always to the point and need no explanation to to make them understood.

As an illustration of Mr. Blaine's story-telling we will take the following. It has "been the rounds" but will bear repetition.

It will be remembered by many who were conversant with the course of matters at Washington immediately after the inauguration of President Hayes, that there was a good deal of inharmony between the official head of the nation and the leaders of the Republican party. Things were not at all to the liking of the latter, but there was no rupture of relations between them and the President.

During this period Mr. Blaine was one day in New York and somebody asked him how matters were going with the new administration.

"Things at Washington remind me," said Mr. Blaine, "of my experience years ago on a fishing excursion. We made up a party in Augusta to go on a trip to Moosehead Lake; we were to camp out and the work of the camp was to be performed by the members of the party in turn.

"We drew lots to decide who should be cook, and

before doing so it was agreed that the first man who found fault with the table should be installed in the office and the original *cuisinier* relieved. The man on whom the lot fell determined to make his term of service as brief as possible, and the very first day he put about a pound of salt into the soup kettle.

"When we sat down to dinner the first man who tasted the soup exclaimed 'how salt this soup is!' . . . 'but I like it, I like it;' he added almost in the same breath, and proceeded to work rapidly with his spoon till he had swallowed every drop of the brine. The rest of us followed his example and there was never a more popular or highly-praised soup in the Maine backwoods than what we had that day."

A correspondent writing from Augusta a few days after the adjournment of the Chicago Convention says:

"Mr. Blaine's mansion and grounds show the effect of the crowds that have visited there since his nomination. On the lawn the grass is so trodden down that it almost looks winter-killed, and the probability is that it will not again this summer look as well as it did the day the convention declared Blaine the choice of the Republican delegates.

"There have been many curious things about these visits of Mr. Blaine's friends. Democrats as well as Republicans have united to do him honor. Outside of Augusta there is some feeling among the Democrats at

the course their brethren have taken, but it avails nothing. Mr. Blaine's friendships are more than skin deep, and the election this fall will show him to have a larger following than the Republican party of the State alone could command. Already the republican majority is set down at 20,000, an increase of 15,000 over anything that has been recorded for about eight years."

The *Evening Leader* of Bloomington, Illinois, published a story which was told to one of its reporters by Hon. Robert E. Williams, a prominent lawyer of the Prairie State. Mr. Williams said "Blaine was a big-hearted, whole-souled, good-natured fellow in his college days. We both attended Washington College in Pennsylvania, and were intimate friends. Blaine was a good companion in his school-boy days. Strong in physical strength, fond of out-door sports, yet in a certain sense loving seclusion and his books. He was a faithful student, and was regarded by his college-mates as a brilliant and progressive scholar. He was an aggressive fellow whenever there was anything to be accomplished which he thought would be productive of good results. From his earliest college days he seemed to have but one ambition, and that was to make his mark as a journalist. He was an industrious writer, and wrote perhaps during his college course a greater number and greater variety of essays and other articles than any member of his class. He used to remark that a school-teacher or an

editor could accomplish more good in the world than any one else, and he thought after leaving college he would surely enter the journalistic walks of life. I left Washington College in 1845, and one day, I think it was in 1848, while walking in the streets of Lexington, Ky., I ran across Jim Blaine. He was at that time teaching school at Georgetown, Ky., and had come with thousands of others to hear Henry Clay deliver his great and memorable speech in that city. We sat down and had a long talk, and he gave me, in a brief manner, his future plans.

"I lost track of Blaine after that until I heard that he was publishing a newspaper in the City of Portland, Maine. His political history, which is so well known, is an evidence of his vaulting ambition, for in my opinion Blaine was always ambitious. In his student life this cropped out, and he never was at any time regarded in any other way. I am inclined to think that if Blaine had kept out of politics altogether and pursued the journalistic profession, his star would have been just as bright. He would have made his influence felt, and in time been regarded, like Horace Greeley, as one of the greatest newspaper writers of his time.

"I remember the last time I met Mr. Blaine. After meeting him in 1848, in Lexington, Kentucky, upon the occasion of Henry Clay's great speech, I did not see him again until thirty years after. I happened to be in Chicago in 1878, and while a guest of the Grand Pacific

Hotel, I learned that Blaine was also stopping at the hotel. Jim Root, the well-known lawyer and Republican politician of Illinois, was sitting in a seat with me, and I told him that I had been Blaine's college chum years before. I had not seen him for thirty years, and wondered if he would know me.

"'Well,' remarked Root, 'let's try it. Blaine is up in the dining-room eating his dinner, and we will go up and meet him.' We then went up-stairs, and just as we arrived at the door of the gentlemen's parlor, Blaine and one or two others were coming out of the dining-room. Mr. Root, who was personally acquainted with the man now so famous, said: 'Mr. Blaine, here is an old friend of yours whom you have not seen for years.' He came up to us and I extended my hand. He shook it in a cordial manner. He did not seem to know me. He was in a deep study, and looked at me for several moments. I remarked: 'Mr. Blaine, you are a good-looking man, but not as handsome a man as your father was' (who was a very fine specimen of physical manhood and culture).

"Almost instantly Blaine raised his hand to my head, and, raising my hat, looked again. 'Oh, it is "Bobby" Williams. I know you, Bobby, by your voice. But I think you have changed considerably.' We had a pleasant afternoon together, reviving old memories, and in a few days afterwards he made a three-hours' speech in

Bloomington, addressing several thousand people in Dimmitt's Grove, southeast of the city a short distance. He was my guest part of the afternoon, and in talking over matters what surprised him the most was to hear that I was a Democrat."

Mr. Blaine possesses the faculty of making himself agreeable to strangers, even in an interview of only a few moments; it is an accomplishment which every man in public life desires to master, but it is not vouchsafed to everybody. It may be spontaneous with him, or the result of careful study. At all events, he has it, and there are not many who care to go "behind the returns," to find its origin.

"I never met Blaine to speak to him but once in my life," said a gentleman recently to the writer of this page, "though I have seen him frequently. I was invited to a reception in his honor at the Penn Club in Philadelphia during the Centennial Exhibition; it was given by Mr. McMichael, one of the members of the club and a great friend of Blaine. When it came my turn to be introduced, the host whispered a few words in Mr. Blaine's ear, just enough to give a clue as to my identity.

"I very much doubt if Blaine had ever heard of me until that moment, as I have no connection with politics, but he grasped my hand as though he had at last met the man for whom he had been seeking, lo! these many

years. Our conversation did not last more than forty seconds, as there were others behind me waiting to be introduced, and I didn't wish to detain the procession, but in that forty seconds he impressed me more than I was ever impressed in my life before or since. I don't remember a word that was said, but as we again shook hands and I moved on, I felt at least two inches taller than before.

"That man," I said to myself, "has known all about me from boyhood, and how unfortunate for him that he has been kept all this time from meeting me personally. But his life will be happier for the rest of it, as he has had a chance to know me. I regret for his sake that our acquaintance was so brief, but perhaps we'll have a chance to renew it."

The narrator of the above incident was no novice in being introduced to strangers. He declares implicit belief in Mr. Blaine's "magnetic" qualities, which his friends boast of, and his opponents treat with the customary ridicule of a political campaign.

The day following the nomination, the *Chicago Tribune* contained the following: —

"There must be something in what is termed the 'magnetism' of Blaine. Even the day before yesterday there were many who *felt* that he would get the nomination, and but few of them could give any logical reason for their conclusion. They knew it from some

intangible, indefinable assertion that came to them and made its meaning known through some subtle sympathy. For the last two days it was evident that the great majority of the vast crowds that filled the auditorium of the hall were in active sympathy with the Man from Maine. It was nothing they saw or heard which produced this condition; there was no good reason why they should have any stronger personal regard for him than for any other of the aspirants. Edmunds is a grand character; Logan is the hero of many a battle-field, a modern Cid with all the chivalry, bluffness, and integrity of his Spanish ante-type. Arthur is a man who is loved by his friends and respected by his opponents, and there is in his life all the characteristics of the honorable, finished gentleman. Hawley's eulogy was not overdrawn in the elegant presentation of his name before the convention by Brandegee of his own State. In no essential respect, so far as mere appearance goes, is there anything more in Blaine than in any of the others whose names were before the public. And yet the thought of the former will excite a sympathy, attract an admiration, and fascinate one in a manner which is at once unfathomable, indefinable, and yet as potent as gravity.

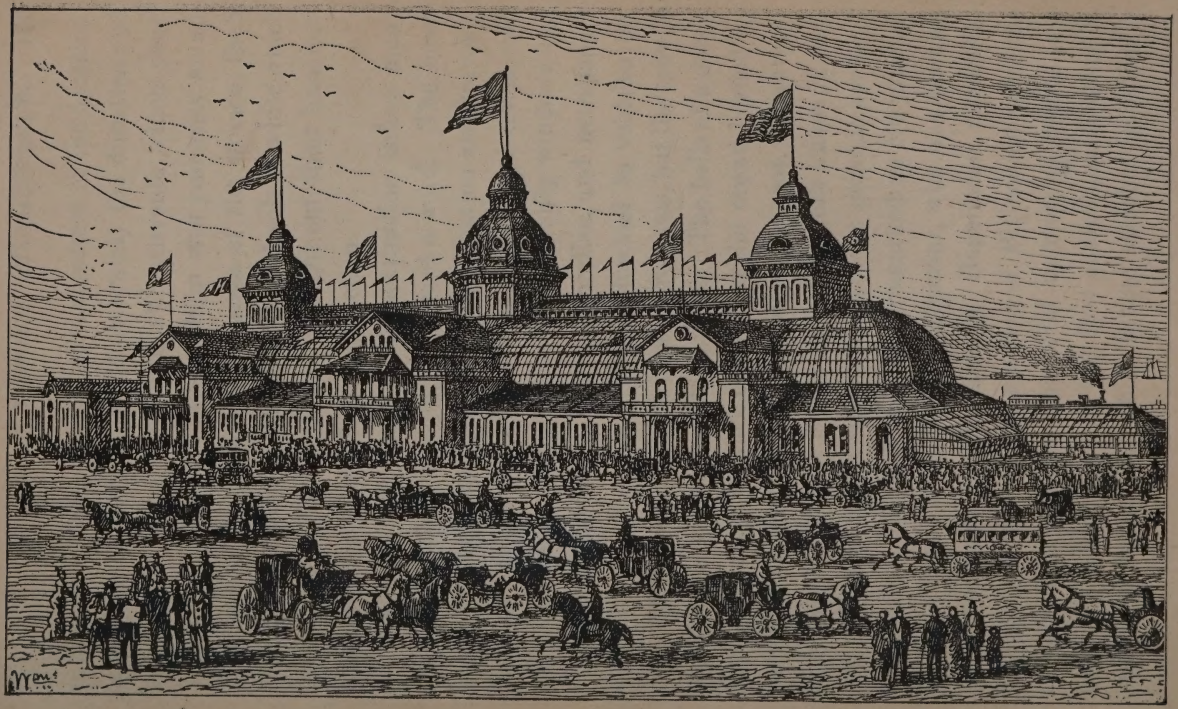
"The greater portion of the enormous mass that gathered in the hall of the Exposition Building yesterday found itself pervaded with this mysterious influ-

ence. Thousands who knew Blaine scarcely more than by name were among those who were readiest to cheer when his name was mentioned, and to hope ardently for his success at every step of the tedious march of the processes of the convention.

"It would almost seem that had the delegates who preferred some other one to Blaine been even more numerous than they were, they would have been forced to yield to the tremendous influence which pervaded the human atoms of the vast body of the people which dominated and enveloped them.

"The flutter of the units compacted in the building showed the existence of the magnetic forces which emanate from the great intellectual dynamo-machine in Maine. At no moment were they at rest. When the name of Blaine was called by the chairman of a delegation as he gave the ballot of his State there was a round of cheers. When there was a change whereby he gained a vote there was an inundation of enthusiastic satisfaction. When the condition of the balloting showed that his nomination was reasonably certain the whole audience rose to their feet, and shook the earth with applause, and hid themselves behind clouds of waving handkerchiefs and gaudy banners. When he was finally officially announced words fail to express the intensity and extent of the mighty outburst of enthusiasm.

"The excess of sensibility in women was shown in the fact that they were constantly stirred by the pervading



THE EXPOSITION BUILDING, CHICAGO, WHERE THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION OF 1884 WAS HELD.

influence. They were the galvanometers of the occasion, and reflected constantly and accurately the direction and strength of the politico-magnetic currents which penetrated the audience. Hence there was yesterday an appeal to the eye in the gay dresses of the women, their incessant flutterings, and the fleecy clouds of white which overspread them when they brought out their handkerchiefs to emphasize their satisfaction.

"The city was aware of his nomination before many thousands had read a sign or heard a word. The news broke through the doors of the convention and traveled through the streets with the swiftness of a storm, and with mad roar. People shouted from lofty windows and housetops, while hats, canes, umbrellas, and newspapers were flung in the air. Horses attached to vehicles became frightened and fled in all directions, but the crowds blocked the way and subdued them. The bells of a dozen horse-cars rang within earshot, but the crowd heeded no such warnings until the excitement was past, when everybody seemed to have grown hoarse without knowing that she or he had contributed a voice to the general uproar."

"Much is said and written," remarked an old journalist to a New York *Tribune* reporter, who was reading some personal recollections of Republican nominees, "about the personal magnetism of Blaine, his captivating manners and his wonderful memory of names and faces. Logan possesses the first-named qualification in a marked degree, but while Blaine attaches individuals

to him as with hooks of steel, Logan enthuses masses of men. I have lately read a story illustrative of Blaine's tenacious memory, in which he is reported as recalling by name an old farmer whom he had met only once before, four years previously, and whom he instantly captivated by recalling a trivial incident of their first meeting and discussion of the merits of a young colt owned by the farmer. I have such an illustration of the man from my own experience.

"In 1863 I wrote for the New York *Herald* an account, some twelve columns long, of the battle of Chickamauga. About twenty lines of the entire account were devoted to the narration of a trifling incident. A white pigeon or dove, confused by the smoke of the last desperate combat, at the close of the battle in which George H. Thomas repulsed Longstreet's attack on his right, fluttered awhile over the heads of Thomas, Garfield, Wood, and others, grouped in a little hollow in the field for protection from the rebel sharpshooters, and then perched on the limb of a dead tree just above them. Here it sat until the firing ceased, and then flew northward unhurt. It was a pretty incident, and of course I took all the license of a writer and made it as striking a passage of the narrative as I could.

"In 1874, eleven years later, I was a witness before a Congressional committee, and while in the capitol one day was introduced by Zebulon L. White, then the *Tribune's* Washington correspondent, now editor of the Pro-

vidence *Press*, to Mr. Blaine, who was at the time Speaker of the House. If I remember rightly I had never before seen him, and I supposed he had never heard of me. Imagine my astonishment then when he said abruptly on hearing my name called by Mr. White: 'You're the man I've been wanting to see for ten years.' Of course I was immensely flattered by such a notice.

"'I've been wanting to know if you were telling the truth or lying,' Mr. Blaine added, almost without pause. This was as surprising as it was blunt. He took my arm and drew me half-away to one side of the corridor. 'Did you write for the *Herald* an account of Chickamauga in which a white dove figured rather poetically?' he asked, and then went on to recall what I had written. 'Now,' he continued, 'tell me was that a true incident or only done to make the story readable?' I assured him it was true, and mentioned that General Garfield, who was in the House, would probably recall it, as he was present. Nothing more of interest passed between us; but naturally I have since sworn by the man who could recall my unknown name and what I had written about a mere incident occurring ten years before. He was so earnest in his inquiry that I have never doubted that his curiosity in the matter, small as the incident was, was genuine."

The Chicago *Herald* is responsible for this story concerning a youthful prank of the Presidential candidate and its result;

"When we were boys," said Uncle Totten, "down on

Indian Hill farm, Jim Blaine was a lively chap. He kept the whole township in arms. Once I got even with him. I was down in the meadow pitching hay. He knew that I was going to do that job, and he went down there a day or two before and fixed one of the haycocks so it could not be lifted. He ran a long wire through it in such a way as to hold it together, and then fastened it under the middle of the stack to a post which he had driven in the ground. Some of the other boys knew about the game, and they stood around looking kind of sneaking and smiling a little. I tackled the doctored stack early in the day. I drove my fork into the top, and spitting on my hands, bore down upon it. It didn't budge. I tried it once more with a little extra strength, and broke the fork clean off at the handle. A boy sitting on a rail fence snickered, and I knew something was up. A moment's examination convinced me that the stack was tied down, and just then the boy who had laughed pointed in the direction of another stack not far away. I felt it in my bones that Jim Blaine was hiding there. So I crawled up kind of easy, and finding him watching the performance on his hands and knees, with some of the grass thrown over him, I got behind him and raised him one with my boot. I was mad, and I put a good deal of heft into that kick, for he shot out of the stack head first, as if he had been fired from a cannon. It humped him up for a while, I tell you, and there was a lively scattering among the rest of the boys."

CHAPTER IX.

BLAINE AND "THE MULLIGAN LETTERS."

Charges affecting the honesty and honor of Mr. Blaine.—His answer in Congress.—Extract from his speech, delivered June 5, 1876.—Renewal of the charges in 1880 and 1884.—The New York *Evening Post.*—Letter of William Walter Phelps.—An intimate friend of Mr. Blaine.—Land grant to the Little Rock & Fort Smith Railway.—The charge in full.—The answer thereto.—How Mr. Blaine obtained his interest in the Company.—The transaction disastrous.—Pecuniary loss to Mr. Blaine.—His letter to Fisher.—Charges of misrepresentation and untruth.—The answer of Mr. Phelps.—The Mulligan letters.—The Union Pacific Railway.—Other charges and the reply.—Mr. Blaine's private fortune.

When Mr. Blaine's name came before the public in 1876 as a candidate for the nomination for the Presidency on the Republican ticket, charges were freely circulated in connection with a transaction in railway bonds, which were calculated to damage his reputation very seriously. They were first printed in a Democratic newspaper in Indiana, and thence had wide circulation over the country. Mr. Blaine met them by a prompt denial, in a letter to the press, and afterwards in a speech in Congress.

The speech was delivered on the 5th of June, 1876. After going over the accusations one by one, Mr. Blaine said:

"I can hardly expect, Mr. Speaker, that any statement from me will stop the work of those who have so industriously circulated these calumnies. For months past the effort has been energetic and continuous to spread these stories in private circles. Emissaries of slander have visited editorial rooms of leading Republican papers from Boston to Omaha, and whispered of revelations to come that were too terrible even to be spoken in loud tones, and at last the revelations have been made. I am now, Mr. Speaker, in the fourteenth year of a not inactive service in this hall. I have taken and have given blows; I have no doubt said many things in the heat of debate which I would now gladly recall; I have no doubt given votes which in fuller light I would gladly change; but I have never done anything in my public career for which I could be put to the faintest blush in any presence, or for which I cannot answer to my constituents, my conscience, and the Great Searcher of Hearts."

Nothing affecting the personal character of a candidate for a high office is kept out of sight under the present system of conducting political campaigns, and it was to be expected that "the Mulligan Letter Charges" would come up whenever and wherever Mr. Blaine's name

should be presented for the Presidency or any other office. They were duly aired in 1880, and long before the meeting of the National Convention of 1884 they were brought from their seclusion, freshly polished and oiled, and made ready for the most effective use it was possible to give them.

Early in April of the present year the charges reappeared in several papers. Among the prominent journals to give them currency was the New York Evening *Post*, which had been opposed to Mr. Blaine's nomination and has been energetic, since the Chicago convention, in urging his defeat. The charges in the *Post* were answered by William Walter Phelps, Member of Congress from New Jersey, in a letter published in the New York *Tribune* on the 27th of April. As Mr. Phelps' letter contains a summary of the charges together with his answer thereto it is here presented in full:

To the Editor of the Evening Post:

SIR: On the 7th inst. you made formal charges against James G. Blaine. They are the same which were made eight years ago, and which were, I think, at that time satisfactorily answered. Lest others, however, may, like yourself, have forgotten everything except the misstatements, you must permit me to remind you of the facts. I think I may claim some qualifications for the task. I have long had a close personal intimacy with Mr. Blaine, and during many years have had that knowledge and care of his moneyed interests which men absorbed in public affairs are not unapt to devolve upon friends who have had financial training and

experience. I do not see how one man could know another better than I know Mr. Blaine, and he has to-day my full confidence and warm regard. I am myself somewhat known in the City of New York, and think I have some personal rank with you and your readers. Am I claiming too much in claiming that there is not one among you who would regard me as capable of an attempt to mislead the public in any way? With this personal allusion, pardonable, if not demanded, under the circumstances, I proceed to consider your charges.

THE LITTLE ROCK AND FORT SMITH CHARGE.

The first charge is really the one upon which all the others hinge. I give it in full, and in your own language, only italicising some of your words, in order that my answer may be the clearer. You say:

In the spring session of Congress in 1869, a bill was before the House of Representatives which sought to renew a land grant to the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad, of Arkansas, *in which some of Mr. Blaine's friends were interested;*—that an attempt to defeat it by an amendment was made, and its promoters were in despair; that at this juncture Mr. Blaine, being then Speaker of the House, sent a message to General Logan to make the point of order that the amendment was not germane to the purposes of the bill; that this point of order was accordingly raised and promptly sustained by Mr. Blaine as Speaker and the bill was in this manner saved: *that Mr. Blaine wrote at once to the promoters calling attention to the service he had rendered them, and finally, after some negotiations, secured from them, as a reward for it,* his appointment as selling agent of the bonds of the road on commission in Maine, and received a number of such bonds as his percentage; that the leading feature of this transaction appeared in two letters of his afterward made public, dated respectively June 29 and October 4, 1869.

Your error is in the facts. Mr. Blaine's friends were not connected with the Fort Smith and Little Rock road at the time of the passage of this bill. Those to whom you refer as his friends were Caldwell and Fisher. The bill passed in April, 1869. In April, 1869, Mr. Blaine did not know that there was any such man as Caldwell, and Fisher, who was Mr. Blaine's friend, did not know that there was any such enterprise as the Little Rock Railroad in the world. The evidence of these assertions was before Congress, was uncontradicted, and is within your reach. On the 29th of June, nearly eighty days after Congress had adjourned, Mr. Blaine from his home in Maine wrote to Fisher and spoke of Fisher's 'offer to admit him to a share in the new railroad enterprise.' Fisher had introduced the subject to Mr. Blaine for the first time a week before at the great musical festival in Boston. He told him there that Mr. Caldwell, whom Mr. Blaine had not yet seen, had now obtained control of the enterprise and had invited Fisher to join him. At that time Fisher was a sugar refiner of considerable wealth in Boston, had been a partner of Mr. Blaine's brother-in-law, and through him had made Mr. Blaine's acquaintance. The offer Mr. Blaine refers to in his letter was Fisher's offer to induce Caldwell, if he could, to let Mr. Blaine have a share in the bed-rock of the enterprise. Mr. Fisher failed to do this, and Mr. Blaine never secured any interest in the building of the Fort Smith and Little Rock Railroad.

What interest, then, did Mr. Blaine obtain? An interest in the securities of the company. How? By purchase, on the same terms as they were sold on the Boston market to all applicants; sold to Josiah Bardwell, to Elisha Atkins, and to other reputable merchants. He negotiated for a block of the securities, which were divided as is usual in such enterprises into three kinds, first mortgage bonds, second mortgage bonds, and stock. The price I think

was three for one. That is, the purchaser got first mortgage bonds for his money, and an equal amount of second mortgage or land grant bonds and of stock thrown in as the basis of possible profit. I may be mistaken as to the price, but I think not. I went myself at this time into several adventures of the kind on that ratio, and have always understood that Senator Grimes and his friends got their interests in the Burlington and Missouri road, a branch of the Union Pacific, on the same basis of three for one. It was the common ratio in that era of speculation. Mr. Blaine conceived the idea that he might retain the second mortgage bonds as profit and sell the first mortgage bonds with the stock as a bonus. He believed the first mortgage bonds were good, and he disposed of them to his neighbors in that faith and with the determination to shield them from loss in case of disaster.

Disaster came. The enterprise, like so many others of the kind, proved a disappointment, and the bonds depreciated. Mr. Blaine redeemed them all. In one or two cases only had he given a guarantee. In none other was there any legal obligation, but he recognized a moral claim and he obeyed it to his own pecuniary loss. I cannot but feel that the purchasers of these bonds would have fared worse had they been compelled to look to many of those who have sought to give an odious interpretation to Mr. Blaine's honorable conduct. The arrangement for the purchase of the block of securities was made in June or July. The sales of the first mortgage bonds out of the block were continued through the months of July, August, and September, 1869.

The transaction was nearly closed, when, in the letter of October 4th, Mr. Blaine wrote to Fisher and told him the parliamentary story of the 9th of April. Mr. Blaine had come across it while looking over *The Congressional Globe*, with a natural curiosity to see what had been his decisions during the first six weeks of his Speakership,

and he wrote of it to Fisher as an item in the legislative history of the enterprise into which they had both subsequently entered. It concerned a bill to renew a land grant, made long before the war, to the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad. The bill had passed the Senate without opposition, and there was no one objecting to it in the House. But the advocates of the Memphis, El Paso, and Pacific Railway bill sought to attach their bill to it as an amendment. This El Paso bill was known at the time as General Fremont's scheme and had been urged upon Congress before. It was unpopular and was openly opposed by General Logan. Wedded to the Little Rock bill it would gain strength, but the Little Rock bill would lose strength, and a just measure, universally approved, would be killed in the effort to pull through with it this objectionable measure which was generally disapproved.

Mr. Blaine's letter to Fisher will tell the rest of the story. He wrote: "In this dilemma, Roots, the Arkansas member, came to me to know what on earth he could do under the rules, for he said it was vital to his constituents that the bill should pass. I told him that the amendment was entirely out of order because not germane, but he had not sufficient confidence in his knowledge of the rules to make the point. But he said General Logan was opposed to the Fremont scheme, and would probably make it. I sent my page to General Logan with the suggestion, and he at once made the point. I could not do otherwise than sustain it, and so the bill was freed from the mischievous amendment, and at once passed without objection." Mr. Blaine added these significant words: "*At that time I had never seen Mr. Caldwell, but you can tell him that without knowing it I did him a great favor.* . . . I thought the point would interest both you and Mr. Caldwell, *though occurring before either of you engaged in the enterprise.*"

This seems, Mr. Editor, to dispose of your first charge. The

bill was a just one, and Mr. Blaine's friends had no interest in it when it passed the House. Eighty days after the House adjourned, Mr. Blaine asked his friends, who had in the meantime taken hold of the enterprise and offered him some interest, to let him in as a partner. They refused. They did, however, sell him a block of securities on the same terms they sold them to others, and it proved an unfortunate purchase, for he sold them out among his friends, believing them valuable, and took them all back when they depreciated in value. The letter of Mr. Blaine written long after the transaction is his complete vindication. To give it a semblance of evil you assign a date to it six months before it was actually written. The late Judge Black, after an investigation of the whole subject, declared in his characteristic style that "Mr. Blaine's letters proved that the charge (which you repeat against him), was not only untrue but impossible, and would continue so to prove until the Gregorian Calendar could be turned around and October made to precede April in the stately procession of the year."

A CHARGE OF MISREPRESENTATION.

Your second charge consists of two parts. The first part is that Mr. Blaine wrongfully asserted that "the Little Rock & Fort Smith Road derives its life and value and franchise wholly from the State of Arkansas, whereas the evidence subsequently taken discloses the fact that the road derived the value on which these bonds were based on the Act of Congress of which Mr. Blaine secured the passage." It will be found that you have inaccurately quoted Mr. Blaine's language, or rather that you put language into his mouth which he never used. What Mr. Blaine did say, was: "The railroad *company* derived its life, value, and franchises from the State of Arkansas." And Mr. Blaine stated the precise truth. What are the facts? More than thirty years ago Congress granted

to the States of Missouri and Arkansas a certain quantity of public lands to aid in the construction of certain lines of railway. The franchises which should be granted to the companies that should build the road were expressly left by Congress to the Legislatures of the States. Mr. Blaine spoke therefore with absolute precision of language, as he usually does, when he stated that "the Little Rock Company derived its life, value, and franchises wholly from the State of Arkansas"—just as the Illinois Central Railroad Company derives its life, value, and franchises from the State of Illinois, though enriched by a land grant from the United States, just as the Little Rock Road was.

A CHARGE OF UNTRUTH.

The second part of your second charge is that Mr. Blaine did not speak truthfully when he asserted that he "bought the bonds at precisely the same rates as others paid." There is no evidence anywhere to sustain this accusation. I have already said any person could negotiate for them on the one-for-three basis just as Mr. Blaine did, and many availed themselves of the opportunity. The price paid was not in the least affected by the fact that Mr. Blaine had already arranged to sell the securities at a higher price than he paid for them. He did this with the determination, honorably maintained, that he would make good any loss which might accrue to the purchasers. These sales did not change the price paid to Fisher, and the proof that it did not is found in the fact that Mr. Blaine paid it to him in full. You speak in this connection of Mr. Blaine's being appointed an agent to sell the bonds of the company. No such appointment was ever made, and no evidence suggests it. Mr. Blaine negotiated for his securities at a given price, which was paid in full to Mr. Fisher.

A NORTHERN PACIFIC CHARGE.

Your third formal charge relates to an alleged connection of Mr. Blaine with a share in the Northern Pacific enterprise. You charge this in the face of the fact that in Mr. Blaine's letter in which you find the subject referred to was his distinct asseveration that he "could not himself touch the share." Have you seen any evidence that he did? I have not. The Northern Pacific Railroad Company has been organized and reorganized, and recently reorganized a second time. Its records of ownership and interest have passed under the official inspection of at least a hundred men, many of whom are political enemies, and some of whom are to my knowledge personal enemies of Mr. Blaine, and there has never been a suggestion or hint from any of these that in any form whatever Mr. Blaine had the remotest interest in the Northern Pacific Company. If one of your associates has such evidence, it is right that he should produce

THE MULLIGAN LETTERS.

Your fourth charge is that after Mr. Blaine got possession of the so-called Mulligan letters, "he subsequently read such of them as he pleased to the House in aid of his vindication." The answer is, that Mulligan's memorandum of the letters in which he had numbered and indexed each one of them was produced, and number and index correspond exactly with the letters read. This was fully demonstrated on the floor of the House, and is a part of its records.

THE UNION PACIFIC.

You repeat the charge that Mr. Blaine received a certain sum from the Union Pacific Railroad Company for seventy-five bonds of the Little Rock Road. You say this without a particle of proof. You say it against the sworn denial of Thomas A.

Scott, who was the party alleged to have made the negotiation. You say it against the written denial of Mr. Sidney Dillon, president of the company; against the written denial of E. H. Rollins, treasurer of the company; against the written denial of Morton, Bliss & Co., through whose banking-house the transaction was alleged to have been made. Against this mountain of direct and positive testimony from every one who could by any possibility have personal knowledge of the alleged transaction, you oppose nothing but hearsay and suspicion as the ground of a serious charge against the character of a man long eminent in public life. The courtesy which admits me to your columns, prevents my saying what I think of your recklessness in this matter.

AS SECRETARY AND CANDIDATE.

Your fifth charge arraigns Mr. Blaine's policy as an executive officer, and your last charge is that of his packing conventions in his favor. I do not desire to dwell upon either. This is not the place to review his foreign policy to which you refer, and I am content to remark that however much some eastern journals may criticize it, it is popular with a large majority of the American people. It is simply an American policy, looking to the extension of our commerce among the nations of this continent, and steadily refraining from European complications of every character. The charge of packing conventions needs no answer. This is the third Presidential campaign in which Mr. Blaine has been undeniably the choice of a large portion of the Republican party. In each of them he has had the active opposition of the National Administration with the use of its patronage against him. Mr. Blaine has control of no patronage. He has no machine. Machine and patronage have been persistently against him. Whatever prominence he has enjoyed has been conferred by the people. He has no

means not open to every citizen of influencing public opinion. No campaign in his favor originated elsewhere than among the people. He has never sought office. He never held a position to which he was not nominated by the unanimous voice of his party. He has not sought the Presidency. Circumstances made him a candidate in 1876, almost before he was aware of it. In 1880, he did not wish to enter the canvass. I was one of a small party of intimate friends who, in a long conference in February, 1880, persuaded him that it was his duty. He has done nothing to make himself a candidate this year. He has asked no man's support. He has written no letters, held no conversation, taken no steps looking to his candidacy. He has never said to his most intimate friends that he expected or desired the nomination.

FALSE AS TO BLAINE, BUT TRUE AS TO EDMUNDS.

If, upon a review of the whole case, you should charge that it would have been better and wiser for Mr. Blaine to have refrained from making any investment in a railroad that had directly or indirectly received aid from the legislation of Congress, I should be ready to agree with you, not because the thing was necessarily wrong in itself, but because it is easy for such matters to be so represented as to appear wrong. But why should Mr. Blaine be selected for special reprobation and criticism when so many other Senators and Representatives have been similarly situated? I know of my own knowledge that Governor Morgan, Mr. Samuel Hooper, Senator Grimes, and many of my friends while in Congress acquired and held interests in such enterprises, and neither you, nor I, nor the people suspected the transaction to be wrong, or that it gave them an advantage over other investors. Why entertain and publish that suspicion against Mr. Blaine alone? When I sat as a delegate-at-large in the last National Convention, Senator Ed-

munds and Senator Windom were both candidates for the Presidency, and I should gladly have supported either. Senator Edmunds was understood to have a block of Burlington & Missouri securities, and Senator Windom had not only a block in the securities of the Northern Pacific Company, but was one of its directors. Yet you find no fault with these gentlemen. Nor would you and I differ in giving the highest rank to Senator Grimes, but both he and Senator Edmunds acquired their interests in the Burlington & Missouri Road when they were in the Senate. They both supported the bill to restore the land grant to their road. It was passed on the same day with the Little Rock bill. Both measures were just, and both were passed in the House and Senate without a dissenting vote. Why must we suspect that Mr. Blaine had a secret and corrupt motive, and that other members and Senators had none?

Let me add a circumstance which seems to me to be not only significant but conclusive of Mr. Blaine's conscious innocence in this Fort Smith transaction. He voluntarily made himself a party of record in a suit against the Fort Smith & Little Rock Railroad Company in the United States Circuit Court, which involved the nature and source of his ownership in the property. This was before he was named for the Presidency. If he had obtained this ownership dishonorably, would he have courted this publicity?

THE "MILLIONAIRE" GABBLE.

I have thus ventured, Mr. Editor, to make answer to the charges you have brought against Mr. Blaine. There are other charges equally baseless which I have read, but in other papers, so that I may not claim your space to deny or answer them. I give two examples. Mr. Blaine is represented as the possessor of millions, while I personally know that he was never the possessor

of the half of one million. He was represented as living in the past ten years in palatial grandeur in Washington. He sold that palatial mansion with all its furniture to Mr. Travers for $24,500, and got all that it was worth. But you are responsible only for such charges as you have made, and I have therefore made answer to them authoritatively over my own name, and I challenge denial of any substantial fact I have stated. Your attacks are not on Mr. Blaine alone, they are on his friends as well, and these are certainly a larger and more devoted body of supporters that can be claimed for any other man in public life. It seems to me as I recall those in every station who are proud to be numbered among them, that I recognize many of the ablest, truest, and most honorable of our countrymen.

I am respectfully yours,

WM. WALTER PHELPS.

WASHINGTON, April 23, 1884.

The *Evening Post* refused to be convinced by the foregoing explanation, and re-asserted its belief in the correctness of the charges, but without presenting any documentary evidence to sustain them. On the other hand, the *Chicago Tribune* says on this subject:

"We are convinced that no candid person can investigate without prejudice all the facts connected with Mr. Blaine's record in this case, without coming to the firm conclusion that it was in all respects honorable and proper, and creditable to him, both as private citizen and a public man."

CHAPTER X.

BLAINE AS A HISTORIAN.

Determination to Write a Book.—"Twenty Years in Congress."—From Lincoln to Garfield.—General Appearance of the Volume.—Character of the Work.—Its Literary Qualities.—Events which Followed the Revolution.—Compromises in the Constitution regarding Slavery.—Admission of Louisiana.—Organization of the Abolition Party.—Men Prominent in the Work.—Annexation of Texas.—The Mexican War.—The Oregon Question.—The Kansas-Nebraska Struggle.—Election of Lincoln.—The War and its Events.—Action of Great Britain.—A Reviewer's Opinion.

Mr. Blaine had resigned his place in the Senate to become Secretary of State, under President Garfield. His retirement from the latter position three months after Garfield's death left him without official rank, and he determined to devote his time to a history of the nation since the beginning of the Civil War. He began work immediately after forming his plan and collecting his materials, and the first volume appeared in April of the present year. The second volume is in course of preparation, and is expected to appear early in 1885.

The book is entitled "Twenty Years in Congress," and the first volume is a portly octavo of 646 pages. Its illustrations are not numerous, comprising altogether half a dozen steel plates; two of these plates are devoted to the author and Abraham Lincoln, the former being the frontispiece, while the other four plates have each seven vignette portraits of men prominent in the history of the nation during the last thirty years. At the end is a map showing the territorial growth of the United States, and accompanying an appendix of statistics showing the development of the country in various departments of industry. The statistics indicate the population and wealth of the nation in each decade since the adoption of the Constitution, and there are tables of figures showing the growth of the public schools, of agriculture, railways, immigration, the condition of army and navy, foreign commerce, production of coal and iron, and many other matters interesting to the student of the country's history. Evidently the author had no light task before him, and gathered his information from many sources.

The book is much more than its title indicates. Instead of being a narrative of individual experience of two decades in Congress, as one might be led to expect, it is practically a history of the country and people from the foundation of the Republic. It is an account of the growth and changes of public opinion rather than a

narrative of events, though the latter are by no menas wanting. The style is clear and direct, but marred here and there by sentences which the writer could have polished to advantage; the reader's interest is sustained throughout, though there is no attempt at "fine writing" from beginning to end of the volume.

The book opens with a statement of the compromises originally made between the North and South on the subject of slavery, and embodied in the Constitution. The author explains how these compromises were necessary for the formation of the Union after the old Articles of Confederation had consecrated the entire Northwest to freedom. He shows the early dissatisfaction with the existing boundaries, and gives a history of the purchase of Louisiana from France by President Jefferson, together with the events in this country and Europe, which led up to it. Louisiana was admitted to the Union as a Slave State against the opposition of the North, and its admission was among the first of the many triumphs of the slave-holding interest over the sentiment that favored universal liberty.

From the admission of Louisiana the slavery question was comparatively quiet until the application of Missouri for a place in the Union as a Slave State. Out of this grew the Missouri Compromise, as we have already shown in the early chapters of this volume, and as a natural consequence out of it grew the Aboli-

tion party. Mr. Blaine sketches the events of those years in their regular order, and his work is by no means pleasant reading for those whose energies were devoted to the perpetuation of the right of man to enslave his fellow by reason of the darkness of his skin, and the advantages of unpaid labor.

Among the men who were prominent in the organization of the opposition to slavery, the author mentions James G. Birney, Benjamin Lundy, Arthur Tappan, the brothers Lovejoy, Gerrit Smith, John G. Whittier, William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, and Gamaliel Bailey, as especially worthy to be held in remembrance for the mental and moral abilities which they devoted to their great work. To this list he adds the name of Frederick Douglass who was born a slave, and was without the advantages of education, but "exerted a wide and beneficent influence upon popular opinion."

"In the early days of this agitation," says the author, "the abolitionists were a proscribed and persecuted class, denounced with unsparing severity by both the great political parties, condemned by many of the leading churches, libeled in the public press, and maltreated by furious mobs. In no part of the country did they constitute more than a handful of the population, but they worked against every discouragement with a zeal and firmness which bespoke intensity of moral conviction. They were in large degree recruited from the Society of

Friends, who brought to the support of the organization the same calm and consistent courage which had always distinguished them in upholding before the world their peculiar tenets of religious faith. Caring nothing for prejudice, meeting opprobrium with silence, shaming the authors of violence by meek non-resistance, relying on moral agencies alone, appealing simply to the reason and the conscience of men, they arrested the attention of the nation by arrainging it before the public opinion of the world, and proclaiming its responsibility to the judgment of God."

In the second and third chapters the narrative of the events previous to 1860 is continued. The history of the annexation of Texas and of the Mexican war is given, and the relation of those occurrences to the slavery question is graphically depicted. The growth of the opposition to slavery is indicated by the figures of the votes for James G. Birney, the abolition candidate for the Presidency in 1840 and 1844. In the former year Mr. Birney received a total of 6,745 votes and four years later 58,879. None of his supporters had any expectation of electing him to the Presidency, and their votes were cast solely as a protest against the sympathy which both the great parties of the day were displaying with the slave-holding interest. The contest was between Henry Clay, the nominee of the Whigs, and James K. Polk, the Democratic candidate; the vote of New York

determined the result of the election, and Mr. Clay was defeated in consequence of the Abolition vote leaving a plurality for the Democratic electors. Mr. Blaine thinks Mr. Clay owed his defeat to a letter in which he favored the annexation of Texas; it was written to conciliate the Whigs of the South without a thought as to its effect upon the Whigs of the north.

The Oregon question and the Congressional and diplomatic discussions concerning it are carefully sketched together with the loss to the country in the action of the Democratic party. A high compliment is paid to Mr. Buchanan for his able treatment of the case in his correspondence with the British Representative, and his adriotness in helping his party out of a difficult position. The irritation of Mr. Polk at the popularity obtained by Mr. Buchanan in the Oregon discussion is piquantly set forth, together with the affronts which he repeatedly placed upon his first Cabinet officer. The story of events is continued through several chapters; the views of both parties on all important occurrences are impartially set forth and there is a careful summary of the utterances of men of note who were in Congress in the period of trouble that preceded and followed the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

Chapter V deals with the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and administrations of Taylor and Fillmore, the election of Pierce, the death of Calhoun, Clay, and

Webster, and closes with a comparison of their services and public characters. Mr. Blaine says that while Mr. Webster's name is honorably perpetuated in his masterly discussion of great political principles he did not connect himself with a single historic measure. On the other hand while Mr. Clay's speeches remain unread his memory is identified with issues that are still vital and powerful. Webster argued the principle while Clay embodied it into the statute; the former did not possess the qualities of a partisan chief while the latter was naturally and inevitably a leader.

Chapters VI and VII are mainly devoted to the Kansas-Nebraska struggle in Congress and out of it. The story is told with considerable fullness of detail in spite of the necessary restrictions of type and pages. The debates between Lincoln and Douglas are summarized; the Dred-Scott Decision is outlined and its results are indicated; the destruction of the Whig party and the formation of the Republican party are described; and one after another the great occurrences of the time down to the raid of John Brown into Virginia are delineated with an able hand. In Chapter VII we have the history of the various conventions of 1860, the excited canvass for the Presidency, and finally the result which chose for the first time in the history of the country a President who was not in any way indebted to the votes of the slave-holding States for his election. At the close of this

chapter the author sketches the history of the relations of England to the slave-trade and quotes from the royal order of George III before the Revolutionary war to the Governor of the colonies "not to assent to any law of the Colonial Legislature by which the importation of slaves should in any respect be prohibited or interrupted." Mr. Blaine says that the anti-slavery feeling in England was inspired from America and that the suppression of the slave-trade by the British Parliament coincided with its limitations by the Federal Constitution.

Chapter IX is devoted to a review of the tariff question with special reference to the political revolution of 1860. The history of the tariff discussions from the earliest days of the Republic to the present is considered and the views of leading statesmen on the subject are given in brief. Chapter X may be regarded as really the beginning of the book, the whole that precedes it being merely preliminary. "Twenty years of Congress, —from Lincoln to Garfield," is what we read on the title-page; the author gives us no formal preface but plunges at once into the chronicle of events immediately following the Revolution. We are reminded of Col. Yule's able work on the travels of Marco Polo, in which one hundred and thirty-nine pages are devoted to an interesting and valuable introduction. Mr. Blaine gives us two hundred and fourteen pages of text in his nine chapters, but not a line of them all is unnecessary. A

knowledge of what is there given is necessary to a clear understanding of what is to follow.

In chapter X the author tells the story of the election of 1860, the beginning of secession, the action of South Carolina, reluctance of other southern States, the meeting of Congress in the winter following the election, the position of President Buchanan, the disloyalty of his cabinet and their treacherous conduct, the resignations of the principal members and appointment of loyal men in their place, together with an analysis of the course of Mr. Buchanan and his character. In chapters XI and XII we have a recital of the many dramatic incidents of the winter of 1860–61. Chapter XIII begins with the story of Mr. Lincoln's journey from Springfield to Washington, and gives the account of his inauguration and the state of public feeling North and South at that time. Then comes the outbreak of hostilities, and through the twelve succeeding chapters Mr. Blaine tells us of each step in the progress of the war down to its termination in the spring of 1865. The cost of the conflict is compared with the wars of other nations, and the Union and Confederate armies are contrasted with the military establishments of foreign countries.

Concerning the Confederate army Mr. Blaine says:—

"It would be but poor compliment to the soldiers of the Union to withhold just recognition of the brave opponents who met them on so many hard-fought fields.

Nor is there any disposition among loyal men to stint the praise which is always due to courage. Never perhaps was an army organized with fighting qualities superior to those of the army put into the field by the Confederacy. They fought with an absolute conviction, however erroneous, that their cause was just; and their arms were nerved by the feeling which their leaders had instilled deeply into their minds, that they were contending against an intolerable tyranny and protecting the sacredness of home. In a war purely defensive, as was that of the Confederacy, an army such as they raised and maintained can baffle the efforts of vastly superior numbers. The Confederates found from their own experience how changed was the task when they assumed the offensive and ventured to leave their own territory, with their perfect knowledge of its topography and with a surrounding population of sympathizers and helpers. In their first attempt at invasion they did not get beyond cannon-sound of the Potomac, and in the second they were turned back by the result of the first battle. These facts do not impeach the prowess of the Confederate soldiery, but they illustrate the task imposed on the army of the Union and they suggest the vast difference in the responsibilities which the invading and the defensive forces were called upon to meet."

The closing chapter of the book is occupied with a review of the conduct of Great Britain toward the

United States during the civil war. Mr. Blaine describes the indecent haste which was shown by the British Government in granting belligerent rights to the Confederacy while the American minister was on his way to England, and when it was well known to Her Majesty's ministers that he came with instructions to explain fully the relations of the Federal Government to the States and to ask that foreign powers would abstain from any act of pretended neutrality which would give material advantage or moral encouragement to the organized forces of the Rebellion. "On the day before Mr. Adams's arrival in England, as if to give him offensive warning how little his representations would be regarded, Her Majesty's Government issued a proclamation recognizing the confederated Southern States as belligerents." Commenting on this action of what we were once pleased to call "Our Mother Country," the author quotes from Mr. Seward:—"It is indeed manifest in the tone of the speeches, as well as in the general tenor of popular discussion, that neither the responsible ministers nor the House of Commons, nor the active portion of the people of Great Britain, sympathize with this Government, and hope, or even wish, for its success in suppressing the insurrection; and that on the contrary the whole British nation, speaking practically, desire and expect the dismemberment of the Republic."

Mr. Blaine pays a just tribute to the Queen for her

friendliness to us during our troubles, and says that on all occasions for bitterness towards England by reason of the treatment we received during the war, there was an instinctive feeling among Americans that Queen Victoria desired peace and good-will, and did not sympathize with the insidious efforts at our destruction which had their origin in her dominions.

To show how near we were to actual hostilities with Great Britain during the latter part of the civil war, Mr. Blaine quotes from Mr. Seward's letter to Lord Palmerston in 1863, when he said:

"If the law of Great Britain must be left without amendment, and be construed by the government in conformity with the rulings of the Chief Baron of the Exchequer in the Alexandra case, then there will be left for the United States no alternative but to protect themselves and their commerce against armed cruisers proceeding from British ports as against the naval forces of a public enemy. * * * British ports, domestic as well as colonial, are now open under certain restrictions to the visits of piratical vessels, and not only furnish them coals, provisions, and repairs, but even receive their prisoners when the enemies of the United States come in to obtain such relief from voyages in which they have either burned ships they have captured, or have even manned and armed them as pirates and sent them abroad as auxiliaries in the work of destruction. Can it be an

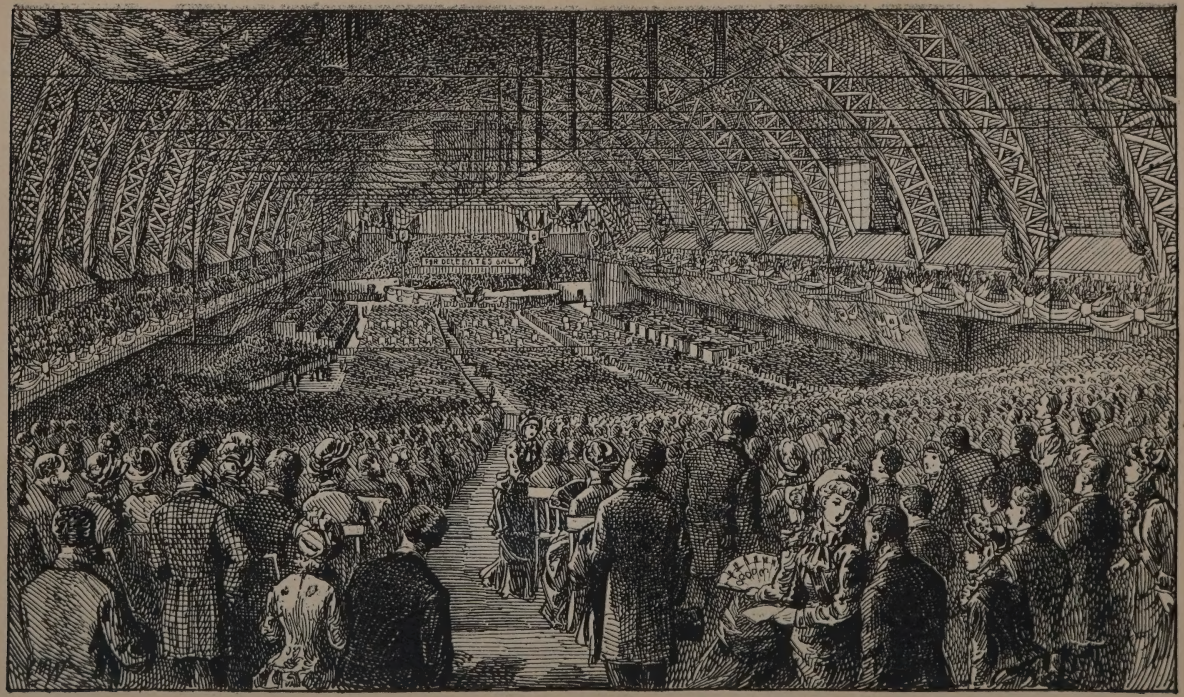
occasion for either surprise or complaint that if this condition of things is to remain and receive the deliberate sanction of the British Government, the navy of the United States will receive instructions to pursue these enemies into the ports which, thus, in violation of the law of nations, and the obligations of neutrality become harbors for the pirates? The President very distinctly perceives the risks and hazards which a naval conflict thus maintained will bring to the commerce and even to the peace of the two countries. But he is obliged to consider that in the case supposed, the destruction of our commerce will probably amount to a naval war, waged by a portion, at least, of the British Nation against the government and people of the United States—a war tolerated although not declared or avowed by the British Government. If through the necessary employment of all our means of national defense such a partial war shall become a general one between the two nations, the President thinks that the responsibility for that painful result will not fall upon the United States."

CHAPTER XI.

BLAINE'S NOMINATION FOR THE PRESIDENCY.

Efforts of his friends in 1876.—Eloquent speech of Col. Ingersoll. —The needs of the Republican party.—The characteristics demanded for its leader.—"The Plumed Knight."—The Convention of 1880. —Votes for the contending candidates.—Garfield nominated on the thirty-sixth ballot.—Senator Frye presents the name of Blaine.—The Convention of 1884.—Public interest in the proceedings.—Judge West of Ohio places Blaine before the Convention.—An eloquent address.—Demands of the party to-day.—The people's Representative.—The progress of the ballots.—Blaine nominated on the fourth ballot.—The nomination made unanimous.

There is a homely old proverb which says, "the third time never fails." Its possible truth is illustrated in the nomination of Mr. Blaine for the Presidency after two unsuccessful efforts of his friends in preceding conventions. At Cincinnati in 1876 his name was presented, and through several ballots his supporters were confident of success. But on the seventh ballot the opposition to Blaine was concentrated on Rutherford B. Hayes, and that gentleman speedily became the unanimous choice of the convention. Mr. Blaine was one of the first to send



INTERIOR OF THE EXPOSITION BUILDING, CHICAGO.—THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION IN SESSION.

a congratulatory telegram to the successful candidate, with the assurances of his earnest support during the campaign.

The name of Mr. Blaine was presented to the convention by Col. R. G. Ingersoll of Illinois. It had been expected that the speech of that gentleman would be an eloquent appeal in behalf of his candidate, but proved to be far more. It was a burst of oratory not often heard in convention halls, and was frequently interrupted by long-continued applause. At its close there was a scene of the wildest excitement, and for several minutes the building was fairly shaken with the plaudits of the vast assemblage.

After a hearty commendation of Mr. Bristow, the principal opponent of Mr. Blaine, Col. Ingersoll said:—

"The Republicans of the United States demand as their leader, in the great contest of 1876, a man of intelligence, a man of integrity, a man of well-known and approved political principles. They demand a reformer after as well as before the election. They demand a politician in the highest, broadest, and best sense—a man of superb moral courage. They demand a man acquainted with public affairs, with the wants of the people; with not only the requirements of the hour, but with the demands of the future.

"They demand a man broad enough to comprehend the relations of this government to the other nations of the

earth. They demand a man well versed in the powers, duties, and prerogatives of each and every department of this government. They demand a man who will sacredly preserve the financial honor of the United States; one who knows enough to know that the national debt must be paid through the prosperity of this people; one who knows enough to know that all the financial theories in the world cannot redeem a single dollar; one who knows enough to know that all the money must be made, not by law, but by labor; one who knows enough that the people of the United States have the industry to make money, and the honor to pay it over just as fast as they make it.

"The Republicans of the United States demand a man who knows that prosperity and resumption, when they come must come together; that when they come, they will come hand in hand through the harvest fields; hand in hand by the whirling spindles and the turning wheels; hand in hand past the open furnace doors; hand in hand by the flaming forges; hand in hand by the chimneys filled with eager fire—greeted and grasped by the countless sons of toil. This money has to be dug out of the earth. You cannot make it by passing resolutions in a political convention. The Republicans of the United States want a man who knows that this government should protect every citizen, at home and abroad; who knows that any government that will not defend its

defenders, and protect its protectors, is a disgrace to the map of the world. They demand a man who believes in the eternal separation and divorcement of church and school. They demand a man whose political reputation is spotless as a star; but they do not demand that their candidate shall have a certificate of moral character signed by a Confederate Congress. The man who has, in full, heaped and rounded measure all these splendid qualifications, is the present grand and gallant leader of the Republican party—James G. Blaine.

"Our country, crowned with the vast and marvelous achievements of its first century, asks for a man worthy of the past and prophetic of her future; asks for a man who has the audacity of genius; asks for a man who is the grandest combination of heart, conscience, and brain beneath the flag. That man is James G. Blaine. For the Republican host led by this intrepid man there can be no such thing as defeat. This is a grand year—a year filled with the recollection of the revolution; filled with proud and tender memories of the sacred past; filled with the legends of liberty—a year in which the sons of freedom will drink from the fountain of enthusiasm; a year in which the people call for a man who has preserved in Congress what our soldiers won upon the field; a year in which we call for the man who has torn from the throat of treason the tongue of slander; a man that has snatched the mask of Democracy from the hideous

face of Rebellion; a man who, like an intellectual athlete, stood in the arena of debate, challenged all comers, and who up to the present moment is a total stranger to defeat.

"Like an armed warrier, like a plumed knight, James G. Blaine marched down the halls of the American Congress, and threw his shining lance full and fair against the brazen forehead of every defamer of this country and maligner of its honor. For the Republican party to desert that gallant man now is as though an army should desert their General upon the field of battle. James G. Blaine is now and has been for years the bearer of the sacred standard of the Republic. I call it sacred because no human being can stand beneath its folds without becoming and without remaining free.

"Gentlemen of the convention, in the name of the great Republic, the only Republic that ever existed upon this earth; in the name of all her defenders and of all her supporters; in the name of all her soldiers living, in the name of all her soldiers that have died upon the field of battle, and in the name of those that perished in the skeleton clutches of famine at Andersonville and Libby, whose suffering he so eloquently remembers, Illinois nominates for the next President of this country that prince of parliamentarians, that leader of leaders, James G. Blaine."

To Col. Ingersoll is due the credit of bestowing upon

Mr. Blaine the appellation of "The Plumed Knight," which will be found in the foregoing speech.

The National Republican Convention of 1880 met at Chicago, on Wednesday, June 2d. On Thursday the permanent organization was completed, and on Friday the contested seats were considered. On Saturday General Garfield reported the rules, the platform was adopted, and in the evening the candidates for the nomination for President were presented. On Monday twenty-eight ballots were taken without a choice, and on Tuesday General Garfield was nominated on the eighth ballot of that day, or the thirty-sixth ballot of the Convention. On the first ballot Grant received 304, and Blaine 284 votes, with 93 for Sherman, 31 for Washburne, 34 for Edmunds, and 10 for Windom. Blaine fell off to 280 on the sixth ballot, recovering to 285 on the thirteenth, fell off to 279, 276, 276, and 275 on the nineteenth to twentieth ballots inclusive, went up to 281 on the twenty-fifth, and on the last five ballots had 270, 276, 275, 57, and 42. Garfield received one vote on the second ballot, and did not get more than two until the thirty-fourth. Then he got 17, which grew to 250 on the thirty-fifth ballot, and he was nominated on the thirty-sixth by a vote of 399. Immediately thereafter the nomination was declared unanimous.

The name of Mr. Blaine was presented on this occasion by Senator Frye of Maine, who spoke briefly, but eloquently, as follows:

"I once saw a storm at sea in the night-time; an old ship battling for its life with the fury of the tempest; darkness everywhere; the winds raging and howling; the huge waves beating on the sides of the ship, and making her shiver from stem to stern. The lightning was flashing, the thunders rolling; there was danger everywhere. I saw at the helm a bold, courageous, immovable commanding man. In the tempest, calm; in the commotion, quiet; in the danger, hopeful. I saw him take that old ship and bring her into her harbor, into still waters, into safety. That man was a hero.

"I saw the good old Ship of State, the State of Maine, within the last year, fighting her way through the same waves, against the dangers. She was freighted with all that is precious in the principles of our Republic; with the rights of the American citizenship, with all that is guaranteed to the American citizen by our Constitution. The eyes of the whole nation were on her, and intense anxiety filled every American heart, lest the grand old ship, the "State of Maine," might go down beneath the waves forever, carrying her precious freight with her. But there was a man at the helm, calm, deliberate, commanding, sagacious; he made even the foolish man wise; courageous, he inspired the timid with courage; hopeful, he gave heart to the dismayed, and he brought that good old ship safely into harbor, with safety; and she floats to-day greater, purer, stronger for her baptism of danger.

That man, too, was heroic, and his name was James G. Blaine.

"Maine sent us to this magnificent convention with a memory of her own salvation from the impending peril fresh upon her. To you, representatives of 50,000,000 of the American people, who have met here to counsel how the Republic can be saved, she says: 'Representatives of the people, take the man, the true man, the staunch man, for your leader, who has just saved me, and he will bring you to safety and certain victory.'"

The Republican National Convention of 1884 was held in Chicago, and opened on the 3d of June. At the hour of noon on that day the immense hall was packed to its utmost capacity, and thousands of people were vainly seeking admission. All sorts of predictions had been made as to the result, and thousands of men were able to demonstrate to a mathematical certainty the impossibility of nominating Blaine, Arthur, Edmunds, Logan, or any one else whose name had been mentioned as a possible candidate. It was conceded that Mr. Blaine would lead on the first ballot, but the friends of the other candidates claimed that it would be impossible for "The Plumed Knight" to obtain the votes of a majority of the delegates.

The details of the proceedings are too fresh in the minds of every reader to need more than the briefest repetition here. John R. Lynch was elected temporary

chairman of the Convention, and Senator Henderson was chosen to preside over the permanent portion of its deliberations. On Wednesday various resolutions were offered and referred to the appropriate committees; the Committee on Resolutions made a preliminary report and several members indulged in speeches in which all sorts of views were freely expressed. On Thursday the Committee on Credentials settled the vexed question of contested seats with less friction than is usual, and the rules were amended so that delegates to future conventions are to be chosen in each Congressional District in the same way that such district nominates its member of Congress. The convention adopted, without opposition, a platform which is considered one of the most out-spoken that has been presented by any party since the days of the war.

The evening of Thursday was devoted to placing the names of candidates before the convention. The roll of the States was called in their order, beginning with Alabama, which had no candidate to offer. When Connecticut was reached, Mr. Brandegee of that State made an eloquent appeal in behalf of General Hawley. The next State to be heard from was Illinois, which spoke, through Senator Cullom, in behalf of General Logan. Maine was next heard from through Judge West of Ohio, who placed in nomination the name of James G. Blaine. It was followed by New York, for whom Mr. Townsend

named President Arthur, and the roll was completed by Vermont for whom Senator Edmunds was presented.

The name of every candidate was received with great enthusiasm by his friends and also by a considerable part of the convention that deemed it a proper mark of respect to cheer everybody. When Maine was called there was a storm of applause. Hats and handkerchiefs were waved, some of the delegates stood upon chairs and shouted with all the vigor of which their lungs were capable, and several enthusiastic spectators opened their umbrellas for lack of other materials for making a demonstration. The band struck up but its music was drowned by the shouts of the multitude, and to an indifferent spectator there was good ground for the inference that the convention had forgotten for the moment all the rules of decorum.

The cheering lasted fully a quarter of an hour and then gradually subsided. When quiet was restored the chairman introduced Judge West of Ohio, and immediately there was a hush of silence through the vast hall. Every delegate and every spectator of the proceedings was intent on catching the words of the speaker, and the change from the excitement that preceded his introduction was most observable, and the address was interrupted only by cheers and applause when the names of the candidates were mentioned, or whenever telling points were made.

Judge West spoke as follows:

"As a delegate in the Chicago Convention of 1860, the proudest service of my life was performed by voting for the nomination of that inspired emancipator, the first Republican President of the United States. Four and twenty years of the grandest history of recorded times has distinguished the ascendency of the Republican party. The skies have lowered and reverses have threatened, but our flag is still there, waving above the mansion of the Presidency, not a stain on its folds, not a cloud on its glory. Whether it shall maintain that grand ascendency depends upon the action of this council.

With bated breath a nation awaits the result. On it are fixed the eyes of twenty millions of Republican freemen in the North. On it, or to it, rather, are stretched forth the imploring hands of ten millions of political bondmen of the South, while above, from the portals of light, is looking down the immortal spirit of the immortal martyr who first bore it to victory, bidding to us Hail and God speed.

Six times in six campaigns has that banner triumphed —that symbol of union, freedom, humanity, and progress— sometime borne by that silent man of destiny, the Wellington of American arms, last by him at whose untimely taking off a nation swelled the funeral cries and wept above great Garfield's grave. Shall that banner triumph again?

"Commit it to the bearing of that chief, the inspiration of whose illustrious character and great name will fire the hearts of our young men, stir the blood of our manhood and rekindle the fervor of the veterans, and the closing of the seventh campaign will see that holy ensign spanning the sky like a bow of promise. Political conditions are changed since the accession of the Republican party to power.

The mighty issue of the freedom and bleeding humanity which convulsed the continent and aroused the Republic, rallied, united, and inspired the forces of patriotism and the forces of humanity in one consolidated phalanx, have ceased their contentions. The subordinate issues resulting therefrom are settled, and buried away with the dead issues of the past. The arms of the solid South are against us. Not an electoral gain can be expected from that section. If triumph come, the Republican States of the North must furnish the conquering battalions from the farm, the anvil, and the loom, from the mines, the workshop, and the desk, from the hut of the trapper on the snowy Sierras, from the hut of the fisherman on the banks of the Hudson. The Republican States must furnish these conquering battalions if triumph come.

"Does not sound political wisdom dictate and demand that a leader shall be given to them whom our people will follow, not as conscripts advancing by funeral

marches to certain defeat, but a grand civic hero, whom the souls of the people desire, and whom they will follow with all the enthusiasm of volunteers, as they sweep on and onward to certain victory. A representative of American manhood, a representative of that living Republicanism that demands the ampliest industrial protection and opportunity whereby labor shall be enabled to earn and eat the bread of independent employment, relieved of mendicant competition with pauper Europe or pagan China? In this contention of forces to whose candidate shall be intrusted our battle-flag?

"Citizens, I am not here to do it, and may my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth if I do abate one tithe from the just fame, integrity, and public honor of Chester A. Arthur, our President. I abate not one tithe from the just fame and public integrity of George E. Edmunds, of Joseph R. Hawley, of John Sherman, of that grand old black eagle of Illinois. And I am proud to know that these distinguished Senators whom I have named, have borne like testimony to the public life, the public character, and public integrity of him whose confirmation brought him to the highest office—second in dignity to the office of the President only himself—the first premiership in the administration of James A. Garfield. A man for whom the Senators and rivals will vote, the Secretary of State of the United States, is good enough for a plain flesh and blood God's people to vote for President.

"Who shall be our candidate? Not the representative of a particular interest of a particular class. Send the great proclamation to the country labeled 'The Doctor's Candidate,' 'The Lawyer's Candidate,' 'The Wall Street Candidate,' and the hand of resurrection would not fathom his November grave.

"Gentlemen, he must be a representative of that Republicanism that demands the absolute political, as well as personal, emancipation and enfranchisement of mankind — a representative of that Republicanism which recognizes the stamp of American citizenship as the passport to every right, privilege, and consideration at home or abroad, whether under the sky of Bismarck, under the Palmetto, under the Pelican, or on the banks of the Mohawk; that Republicanism that regards with dissatisfaction a despotism, which under the 'sic semper tyrannis' of the Old Dominion emulates, by slaughter, popular majorities in the name of Democracy — a Republicanism as embodied and stated in the platform of principles this day adopted by your convention.

"Gentlemen, such a representative Republican is James G. Blaine of Maine. If nominated to-night, his campaign would commence to-morrow and continue until victory is assured. There would be no powder burned to fire into the backs of his leaders. It would only be exploded to illumine the inauguration. The brazen throats of the cannon in yonder square, waiting

to herald the result of the convention, would not have time to cool before his name would be caught up on ten thousand tongues of electric flame.

"Gentlemen of the convention, it has been urged that in making this nomination, every other consideration should merge, every other interest be sacrificed, in order and with a view, exclusively, to secure the Republican vote and carry the State of New York. Gentlemen, the Republican party demands of this convention a nominee whose inspiration and glorious prestige shall carry the presidency with or without the State of New York; that will carry the legislatures of the several States, and avert the sacrifice of the United States Senate; that shall sweep into the tide the congressional districts to recover the House of Representatives, and restore it to the Republican party. Three millions of Republicans believe that that man who, from the baptism of blood on the plains of Kansas, to the fall of the immortal Garfield, in all that struggle of humanity and progress wherever humanity desires succor, where love for freedom called for protection, wherever country called for a defender, wherever blows fell thickest and fastest, there in the forefront of the battle was seen to wave the white plume of James G. Blaine, our Henry of Navarre. Nominate him, and the shouts of September victory in Maine will be re-echoed back by the thunders of the October victory in Ohio. Nominate him, and the

camp-fires and beacon-lights will illuminate the continent from the Golden Gate to Cleopatra's needle. Nominate him, and the millions who are now in waiting will rally to swell the column of victory that is sweeping on. In the name of a majority of the delegates from the Republican States, and of our glorious constituencies who must fight this battle, I nominate James G. Blaine of Maine."

After the candidates had been named the convention adjourned, and the weary members retired to prepare for the battle of the morrow — the battle of the nomination.

On Friday, the convention proceeded with very little delay to the taking of the ballots. The roll of the States was called, and the work of balloting proceeded slowly, in consequence of frequent interruptions to take the poll of the delegates in different States. The final result was as follows:

Whole number of votes cast,	818
Necessary to a choice,	410
For James G. Blaine of Maine,	334½
Chester A. Arthur of New York,	278
George F. Edmunds of Vermont,	93
John A. Logan of Illinois,	63½
John Sherman of Ohio,	30
Joseph R. Hawley of Connecticut,	13
Robert T. Lincoln of Illinois,	4
William T. Sherman of Missouri,	2

There being no choice, a second ballot was taken immediately. When the result showed gains for Blaine, the adherents of that gentleman were not able (even if they made an effort to do so), to refrain from loud and prolonged rejoicing. This was the ballot:

Whole number of votes cast,	818
Necessary to a choice,	410
For James G. Blaine of Maine,	349
Chester A. Arthur of New York,	276
George F. Edmunds of Vermont,	85
John A. Logan of Illinois,	61
John Sherman of Ohio,	28
Joseph R. Hawley of Connecticut,	13
Robert T. Lincoln of Illinois,	4
William T. Sherman of Missouri,	2

The excitement increased at the indication of greater gains for Blaine as the vote progressed. Michigan and Nebraska were loudly cheered, and then the uproar became so great that the sergeant-at-arms was directed to require delegates to keep their seats. The third ballot was at length announced:

Whole number of votes cast,	819
Necessary to a choice,	410
For James G. Blaine of Maine,	375
Chester A. Arthur of New York,	274
George F. Edmunds of Vermont,	69
John A. Logan of Illinois,	53
John Sherman of Ohio,	25

Joseph R. Hawley of Connecticut, . . .	13
Robert T. Lincoln of Illinois, ...	8
William T. Sherman of Missouri, . . .	2

The confusion increased, and the chairman was powerless to preserve order. A dozen delegates were on their feet at once; a motion to adjourn was made and lost, the friends of Blaine voting against it. Then the convention proceeded to the fourth and final ballot.

When Illinois was called the chairman of the delegation from that State announced that he wished to read a telegram which had just been received. Objections were made, and the missive was sent to the chairman's desk where it remained until the ballot was completed. The telegram was as follows:

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Hon. S. M. Cullom of the Illinois Delegation:

The Republicans of the States that must be relied upon to elect the President, having so strongly shown a preference for Mr. Blaine, I deem it my duty not to stand in the way of the people's choice. I recommend my friends to assist in the nomination.

JOHN A. LOGAN.

In compliance with the wishes of "Black Jack," the vote of Illinois was changed from Logan to Blaine, and decided the contest. Through the rest of the call there was no question of the result:

Whole number of votes cast, ...	813
Necessary to a choice, -	407
For James G. Blaine of Maine, ...	541
Chester A. Arthur of New York, . . .	207

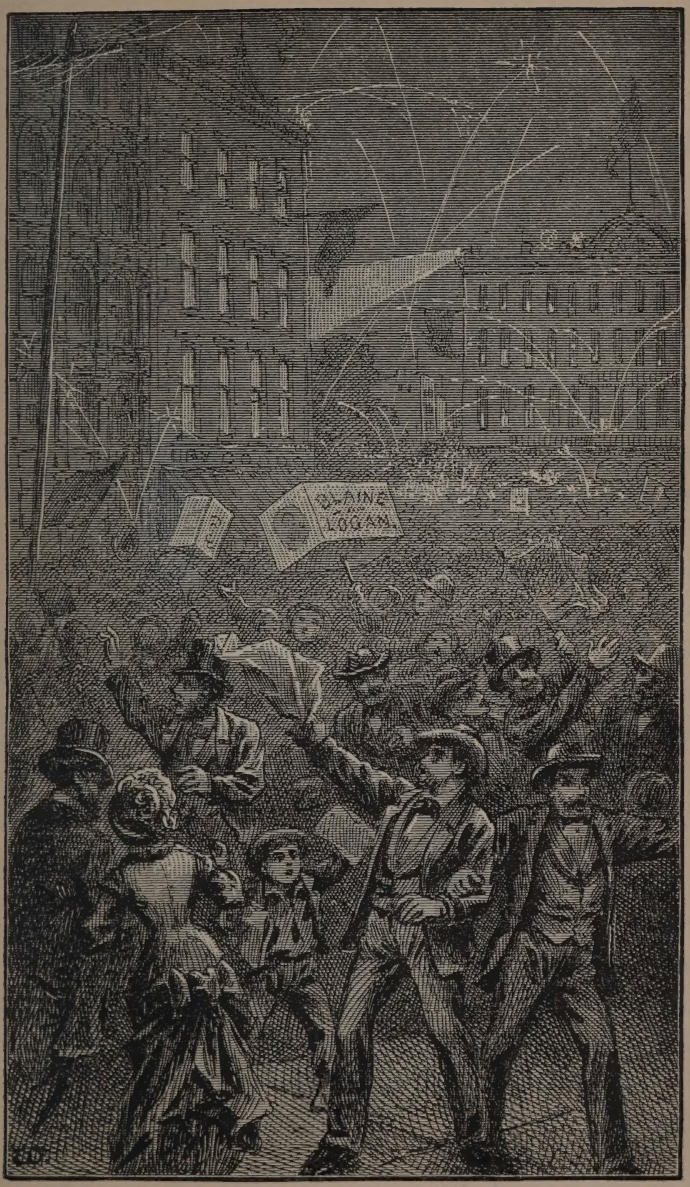
George F. Edmunds of Vermont,	41
John A. Logan of Illinois,	7
Joseph R. Hawley of Connecticut,	15
Robert T. Lincoln of Illinois,	2

The announcement of the result of the fourth ballot was received with a whirlwind of applause. Every person in the audience—delegates and visitors—rose to their feet simultaneously and, all being Blaine men now, shouted and sang their delight at the success of the man from Maine. It took nearly thirty minutes to get to business. The chairman then asked if the nomination should be made unanimous. Mr. Burleigh of New York, one of the supporters of President Arthur, took the platform and said:

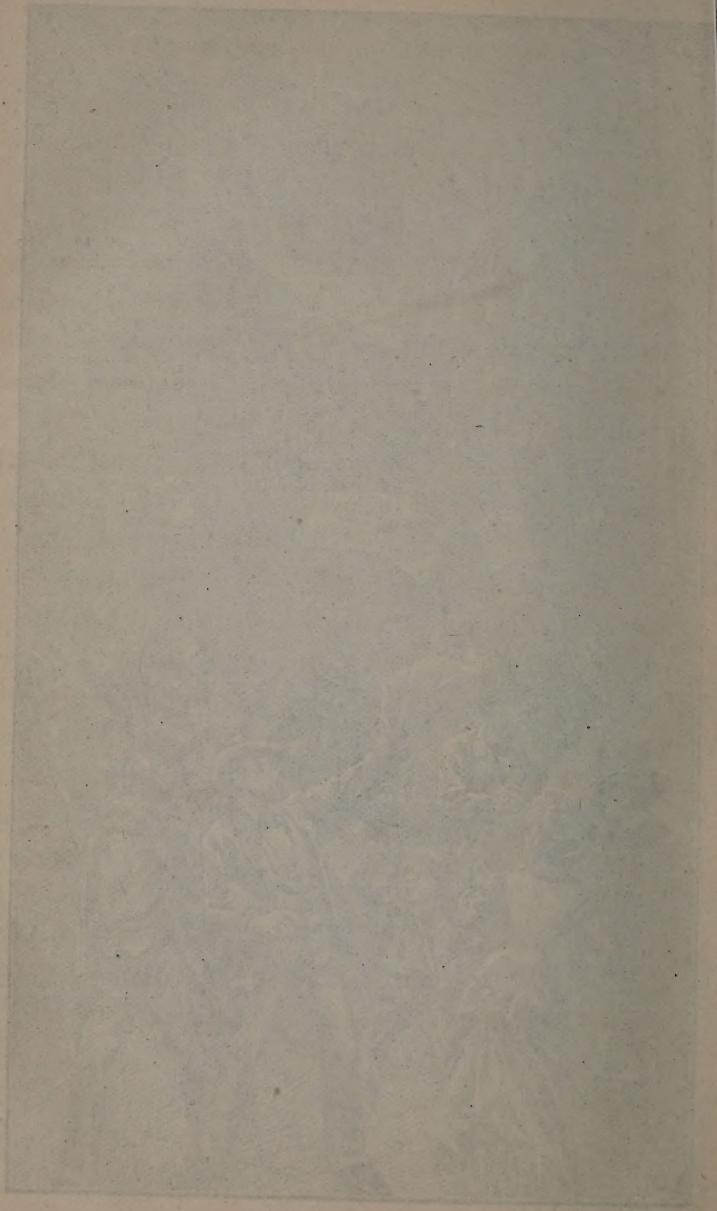
"In behalf of the President of the United States, and at his request, I move to make the nomination of James G. Blaine of Maine, unanimous, and I promise for the friends of President Arthur, who are always loyal at the polls, and for northern New York, 20,000 Republican majority; and I promise you all that we will do all we can for the ticket and for the nominee, and will show you in November next that New York is a Republican State. It elected James A. Garfield, and it will elect James G. Blaine of Maine."

Mr. Sabin of Minnesota, said:

"Four years ago, in this very hall, and as a delegate to the National Republican Convention, I was opposed to



STREET SCENE IN CHICAGO ON THE NIGHT AFTER THE NOMINATIONS WERE MADE.



Chester A. Arther and to the elements with which he then associated. Since then he has been called, under the most trying circumstances, to fill the first place in the gift of the people of this country. So well, so nobly, so faithfully has he fulfilled that trust, and so happily has he disappointed not only those of his opponents but his friends, so fully has he filled the position of the scholar and the gentleman, that he is possessed of that great, good common sense which has made his administration a great and pronounced success, that he has grown upon me until to-day I honor and revere Chester A. Arthur. As a friend of his, I no less honor and revere that prince of gentlemen, that scholar, that gifted statesman, James G. Blaine, whose nomination it affords me the greatest pleasure to second, with the prediction that his name before this country in November will produce that same spontaneous enthusiasm which will make him President of the United States on the 4th of March next."

Mr. Plumb of Kansas, said:

"This convention has discharged two of its most important trusts and is now, notwithstanding the length of time it has been in session and the exciting scenes through which it has passed, in thorough good humor, and I believe we are ready to go on and conclude the business which brought us all here. I move that the

nomination be made unanimous, and I hope there will not be a dissenting voice in all this vast assemblage."

The chairman then read the following dispatch:

The President has sent the following dispatch to Mr. Blaine: "As the candidate of the Republican party, you will have my earnest and cordial support."

The nomination was then made unanimous, and the convention adjourned until evening. The great work was over, and James G. Blaine was declared the Republican standard-bearer for the Convention of 1884.

CHAPTER XII.

THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM. MR. BLAINE'S OFFICIAL NOTIFICATION.

The Platform of 1884.—Much Discussed in the Committee.—Adopted without Opposition.—A Stiff Plank on the Tariff.—Declaration of Principles.—In Memory of Garfield.—President Arthur Commended.—Duties of the Government to the People.—Arraigning the Democracy.—Pledges of the Republicans.—Importance of Sheep-Husbandry.—International Money Standards.—International and Inter-State Commerce.—Regulation of Railways.—National Bureau of Labor.—Eight-Hour Law.—Civil Service Reform.—Opposition to Polygamy.—Denunciation of Southern Outrages.—Official Notification of Mr. Blaine.—Address of the Chairman of the Committee.—Mr. Blaine's Reply.—The Group on the Lawn.

The platform of the Republican Convention of 1884 caused much discussion in the Committee on Resolutions, but was adopted by the Convention without opposition. Some of the members of the committee desired to dodge the question of the tariff, and indulge in meaningless platitudes concerning it; but their opinions did not prevail, as the majority of the committee believed in a positive statement of principles, from which there could be no escape. In this respect, the platform is

more pronounced than that of any previous convention since the days of Lincoln, and the memorable array of principles which gave him the Presidency.

The following is the platform as offered by the committee and adopted in the Convention:

"The Republicans of the United States, in National Convention assembled, renew their allegiance to the principles upon which they have triumphed in six successive Presidential elections, and congratulate the American people on the attainment of so many results in legislation and administration by which the Republican party has, after saving the Union, done so much to render its institutions just, equal, and beneficent, the safeguard of liberty, and the embodiment of the best thought and highest purposes of our citizens.

"The Republican party has gained its strength by quick and faithful response to the demands of the people for freedom and equality of all men; for a united nation, assuring the rights of all citizens; for the elevation of labor; for an honest currency; for purity in legislation; and for integrity and accountability in all departments of the government. And it accepts anew the duty of leading in the work of progress and reform.

"We lament the death of President Garfield, whose sound statesmanship, long conspicuous in Congress, gave promise of a strong and successful adminstration, a promise fully realized during the short period of his office as

President of the United States. His distinguished services in war and peace have endeared him to the hearts of the American people. In the administration of President Arthur we recognize a wise, conservative, and patriotic policy, under which the country has been blessed with remarkable prosperity; and we believe his eminent services are entitled to and will receive the hearty approval of every citizen.

"It is the first duty of a good government to protect the rights and promote the interests of its own people. The largest diversity of industry is the most productive of general prosperity, and of the comfort and independence of the people. We therefore demand that the imposition of duties on foreign imports shall be made, not for revenue only, but that in raising the requisite revenues for the government such duty shall be so levied as to afford security to our diversified industries and protection to the rights and wages of the laborer, to the end that active and intelligent labor, as well as capital, may have its just reward, and the laboring man his full share in the National prosperity. Against the so-called economic system of the Democratic party, which would degrade our labor to the foreign standard, we enter our most earnest protest. The Democratic party has failed completely to relieve the people of the burden of unnecessary taxation by a wise reduction of the surplus. The Republican party pledges itself to correct the irreg-

ularities of the tariff and to reduce the surplus, not by the vicious and indiscriminating process of horizontal reduction, but by such methods as will relieve the taxpayer without injuring the laborer or the great productive interests of the country.

"We recognize the importance of sheep-husbandry in the United States, the serious depression which it is now experiencing, and the danger threatening its future prosperity; and we, therefore, respect the demands of the representatives of this important agricultural interest for a readjustment of duties upon foreign wool in order that such industry shall have full and adequate protection.

"We have always recommended the best money known to the civilized world, and we urge that efforts should be made to unite all commercial nations in the establishment of an international standard which shall fix for all the relative value of gold and silver coinage.

"The regulation of commerce with foreign nations and between the States is one of the most important prerogatives of the general government, and the Republican party distinctly announces its purpose to support such legislation as will fully and efficiently carry out the constitutional power of Congress over inter-State commerce.

"The principle of the public regulation of railway corporations is a wise and salutary one for the protection of all classes of the people, and we favor legislation that shall prevent unjust discrimination and excessive charges

for transportation, and that shall secure to the people and the railways alike the fair and equal protection of the laws.

"We favor the establishment of a National Bureau of Labor; the enforcement of the Eight-hour law; a wise and judicious system of general education by adequate appropriation from the national revenues wherever the same is needed. We believe that everywhere the protection of a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens of American adoption, and we favor the settlement of national differences by international arbitration.

"The Republican party, having its birth in a hatred of slave labor, and a desire that all men may be truly free and equal, is unalterably opposed to placing our workingmen in competition with any form of servile labor, whether at home or abroad. In this spirit we denounce the importation of contract labor, whether at home or abroad, as an offense against the spirit of American institutions, and we pledge ourselves to sustain the present law restricting Chinese immigration, and to provide such further legislation as is necessary to carry out its purposes.

"Reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under the Republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system already established by law to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the

reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the objects of existing reform legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided.

"The public lands are a heritage of the people of the United States, and should be reserved, as far as possible, for small holdings of actual settlers. We are opposed to the acquisition of large tracts of these lands by corporations or individuals, especially where such holdings are in the hands of non-resident aliens, and we will endeavor to obtain such legislation as will tend to correct this evil.

"We demand of Congress the speedy forfeiture of all land-grants which have lapsed by reason of non-compliance with acts of incorporation, in all cases where there has been no attempt in good faith to perform the conditions of such grants.

"The grateful thanks of the American people are due to the Union soldiers and sailors of the late war; and the Republican party stands pledged to suitable pensions for all who were disabled, and for the widows and orphans of those who died in the war. The Republican party also pledges itself to the repeal of the limitation contained in the Arrears Act of 1879, so that all invalid soldiers shall share alike, and their pensions begin with the date of disability, and not with the date of application.

"The Republican party favors a policy which shall keep us from entangling alliances with foreign nations, and which gives us the right to expect that foreign nations shall refrain from meddling in American affairs; a policy which seeks peace and trade with all powers, but especially with those of the Western Hemisphere.

"We demand the restoration of our navy to its old-time strength and efficiency, that it may in any high sea protect the rights of American citizens and the interests of American commerce. We call upon Congress to remove the burdens under which American shipping has been depressed, so that it may again be true that we have a commerce which leaves no sea unexplored, and a navy which takes no law from superior force.

"*Resolved*, That the appointment by the President to offices in the Territories should be made from the *bona-fide* citizens and residents of the Territories wherein they are to serve.

"*Resolved*, That it is the duty of Congress to enact such laws as shall promptly and effectually suppress the system of polygamy within our Territories, and divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power of the so-called Mormon Church, and that the law so enacted should be rigidly enforced by the civil authorities, if possible, and by the military, if need be.

"The people of the United States, in their organized

capacity, constitute a nation, and not a mere confederation of States. The national government is supreme within the sphere of its national duties, but the States have reserved rights which should be faithfully maintained, and which should be guarded with jealous care, so that the harmony of our system of government may be preserved, and the Union kept inviolate.

"The perpetuity of our institutions rests upon the maintenance of a free ballot, an honest count, and correct returns. We denounce the fraud and violence practiced by the Democracy in Southern States, by which the will of the voter is defeated, as dangerous to the preservation of free institutions; and we solemnly arraign the Democratic party as being the guilty recipient of the fruits of such fraud and violence.

"We extend to the Republicans of the South, regardless of their former party affiliations, our cordial sympathy, and pledge to them our most earnest efforts to promote the passage of such legislation as will secure to every citizen, of whatever race and color, the full and complete recognition, possession, and exercise of all civil and political rights."

The platform was given to the press immediately after its adoption, and an official copy was sent to Mr. Blaine by the Chairman of the National Republican Committee. The committee to notify Mr. Blaine of his nomination arranged to arrive at Augusta on the 20th

of June, and make the official announcement on the following day. Immediately after the close of the convention, the delegates scattered in various directions, but assembled at Boston on the day in question. They proceeded from Boston to Augusta in a special train, arriving late in the evening. There was a large assemblage of citizens to meet them, and they were escorted to their hotel by a band of music which headed an enthusiastic procession.

It was understood that the ceremony of notification would take place at eleven o'clock in the forenoon of the 21st, in the parlors of Mr. Blaine's house; but when the hour came and the committee had assembled, it was found that the parlors were a good deal warmer than the open air, while the latter was by no means cool. It was suggested by members of the family that it would be better to have the ceremony on the lawn, and forthwith the party adjourned to the shelter of the shade-trees where Mr. Blaine was swinging in his hammock when he first received news of his nomination. The party included Mr. Blaine and his family, a few neighbors and intimate friends, together with the committee, headed by Gen. John B. Henderson, its Chairman. There were in all about a hundred persons present, forming a picturesque group; they stood in a semi-circle, and when all was ready Mr. Blaine was escorted to the lawn and placed in front of the honorable chairman.

Gen. Henderson immediately began the reading of the following address, and continued, with only a few occasional pauses, to its close:

"Mr. Blaine: Your nomination for the office of the President of the United States by the National Republican Convention, recently assembled at Chicago, is already known to you. The gentlemen before you, constituting the committee composed of one member from each State and Territory of the country, and one from the District of Columbia, now come as the accredited organ of that convention to give you formal notice of your nomination and to request your acceptance thereof. It is of course known to you that, beside your own, several other names, among the most honored in the councils of the Republican party, were presented by their friends as candidates for this nomination. Between your friends and the friends of the other gentlemen so justly entitled to the respect and confidence of their political associates the contest was one of generous rivalry, free from any taint of bitterness, and equally free from the reproach of injustice.

THE CHOICE OF THE PEOPLE.

"At an early stage of the proceedings of the convention it became manifest that the Republican States whose aid must be invoked at last to insure success to the ticket earnestly desired your nomination. It was

equally manifest that the desire so earnestly expressed by delegates from those States was but a truthful reflection of an irresistible popular demand. It was not thought nor pretended that this demand had its origin in any ambitious desires of your own or in organized work of your friends, but it was recognized to be what it truthfully is—a spontaneous expression by the free people of love and admiration of a chosen leader. No nomination would have given satisfaction to every member of the party. This is not to be expected in a country so extended in area and so varied in interests. The nomination of Mr. Lincoln in 1860 disappointed so many hopes and overthrew so many cherished ambitions, that for a short time disaffection threatened to ripen into open revolt. In 1872 the discontent was so pronounced as to impel large masses of the party to an organized opposition to its nominees. For many weeks after the nomination of General Garfield, in 1880, defeat seemed almost inevitable. In each case the shock of disappointment was followed by 'sober second thought.' Individual preferences gradually yielded to convictions of public duty. The prompting of patriotism finally rose superior to the irritations and animosities of the hour. The party in every trial has grown stronger in the face of threatened danger.

"In tendering you the nomination it gives us pleasure to remember that those great measures which furnished

the cause for party congratulations by the late convention at Chicago, and which are now crystalized into the legislation of the country, measures which have strengthened and dignified the Nation while they have elevated and advanced the people, have at all times and on all proper occasions received your earnest and valuable support. It was your good fortune to aid in protecting the nation against the assaults of armed treason. You were present and helped to unloose the shackles of slavery, you assisted in placing anew guarantees of freedom in the Federal Constitution. Your voice was potent in preserving national faith, when false theories of finance would have blasted national and individual prosperity. We kindly remember you as the fast friend of honest money and commercial integrity. In all that pertains to the security and repose of capital, the dignity of labor, manhood, the elevation and freedom of the people, the right of the oppressed to demand, and the duty of the government to afford, protection, your public acts have received the unqualified endorsement of popular approval.

THE RECORD OF THE PARTY.

"But we are not unmindful of the fact that parties, like individuals, cannot live entirely on the past, however splendid the record. The present is ever charged with its immediate cares, and the future presses on with its new duties, its perplexing responsibilities; parties,

like individuals, however, that are free from the stain of violated faith in the past are fairly entitled to the presumption of sincerity in their promises for the future. Among the promises made by the party in its late convention at Chicago, are: economy and purity of administration, protection of the citizen, native and naturalized, at home and abroad, the prompt restoration of the navy, the wise reduction of surplus revenues, relieving the taxpayer without injuring the laborer, the preservation of public lands for actual settlers, import duties when necessary at all to be levied, not for revenue only, but for the double purpose of revenue and protection, the regulation of internal commerce, the settlement of international differences by peaceful arbitration, but coupled with the reassertion and maintenance of the Monroe doctrine as interpreted by the fathers of the Republic; perseverance in the good work of civil service reform, to the end that dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided, honest currency based on coin of intrinsic value aided, strength to the public credit and giving renewed vitality to every branch of American industry.

"Mr. Blaine: During the last twenty-three years the Republican party has builded a new Republic—a Republic far more splendid than originally designed by our fathers. As its proportions are already grand they may

yet be enlarged; its foundations may yet be strengthened and its columns may be adorned with a beauty more resplendent still. To you as its architect-in-chief will soon be assigned this grateful work."

MR. BLAINE'S REPLY.

When General Henderson had concluded, Walker Blaine stepped forward and handed his father the manuscript of an address in reply to that of the Committee. Mr. Blaine read as follows:

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the National Committee: I receive, not without deep sensibility, your official notice of the action of the National Convention already brought to my knowledge through the public press. I appreciate more profoundly than I can express the honor which is implied in the nomination for the Presidency by the Republican party of the Nation, speaking through the authoritative voice of duly accredited delegates. To be selected as a candidate by such an assemblage from the list of eminent statesmen whose names were presented fills me with embarrassment. I can only express my gratitude for so signal an honor and my desire to prove worthy of the great trust reposed in me. In accepting the nomination as I now do, I am impressed—I am also oppressed—with a sense of the labor and responsibility which attach to my position. The burden is lightened, however, by the host of earnest

men who support my candidacy, many of whom add, as does your honorable committee, the cheer of personal friendship to the pledge of political fealty.

"A more formal acceptance will naturally be expected and will in due season be communicated. It may, however, not be inappropriate at this time to say that I have already made a careful study of the principles announced by the National Convention, and that in whole and in detail they have my heartiest sympathy and meet my unqualified approval.

"Apart from your official errand, gentlemen, I am extremely happy to welcome you all to my house. With many of you I have already shared the duties of public service, and have enjoyed most cordial friendship. I trust your journey from all parts of the great Republic has been agreeable, and that during your stay in Maine you will feel that you are not among strangers, but with friends.

"Invoking the blessings of God upon the great cause which we jointly represent, let us turn to the future without fear, and with manly hearts."

Those who were present say Mr. Blaine never appeared to better advantage. He had been standing with his arms folded across his breast. His dignified and noble bearing deeply impressed all who saw and heard him. His reply was read with that easy and natural dignity which he possesses.

During the formalities, all stood with uncovered heads. Chairman Henderson, after Mr. Blaine had finished, presented him as the next President of the United States, and Mrs. Blaine as the next lady of the White House. This was the signal for a round of cheers, and here Mr. Blaine kissed Mrs. Blaine, and shook hands with all the rest. The committee returned the same day to Boston, and the news was telegraphed throughout the country that Mr. Blaine was officially at the head of the Republican ticket for the campaign of 1884.

CHAPTER XIII.

MR. BLAINE AT HOME.

Thirty years a resident of Augusta.—Description of the City.—A Delightful Situation.—Both banks of the Quinnebec.—General Aspect of the Place.—Its Principal Avenues.—State Street and Capitol Street.—Position of Mr. Blaine's House.—Description of the Building.—Additions made by Mr. Blaine since he Bought it.—The Grounds Around the Building.—An Abundance of Shade Trees.—The Main Entrance to the House.—Arrangement of the Rooms.—The Pictures and Furniture.—The Billiard-Room and Library.—When Mr. Blaine performs his Work.—His Habits and Daily Life.—Reading Papers and Letters in Bed.—Formalities of Breakfast.—His Hours of Work.—Dinner in the Blaine Household.—Supper, Recreation, and Sleep.—Methods of Work.—How he Reads the Papers.—Opening and Answering Letters.—How he Writes Important Papers.—Extent and Character of Mr. Blaine's Library.—His Wonderful Memory.—His Taste in Art.—Pedestrian Exercise.—Mr. Blaine Among Friends and Neighbors.—Mrs. Blaine and her Accomplishments.—The Younger Blaines.—Mr. Blaine's House in Washington.

For a period of thirty-one years Augusta, Maine, has been the real home of Mr. Blaine, for, although he has been much away from there, and for the past dozen years or more has maintained a winter residence in Washington, Augusta is the spot about which his strongest

home associations cluster, for it was there that the earlier years of his active business life were passed. This attractive little city of some ten thousand inhabitants is charmingly located on both banks of the Kennebec, the second longest river in Maine, some forty miles from its mouth, and is the terminus of steam navigation on the river. The banks of the river rise in a series of terraces back from the water, there being three distinct terraces or shelves upon which the city is built. Along the river, and principally upon the west side, is the business portion of the city; back from this, at an elevation of ninety to one hundred feet from the water, is the plain broken by ravines extending to the river, upon which the private residences, churches, and public buildings are located, while still west of this are higher terraces overlooking the city, the river valley, and a wide extent of country in all directions. The city was settled in 1754. Its streets are wide, the private residences substantial, there is an abundance of old elms and maples, and during all the summer months the entire city is leaf-embowered.

Along the whole length of the second terrace from the river, extends one of the principal avenues, known as State street, reaching from the Catholic Church, north, to the State Capitol, south,—a distance of about one mile,—a straight, level street, with grand old elms, willows, and maples on either side. Along this street are

the churches and some of the finest residences. Here also are the court-house, jail, and in a pretty little park, the Soldiers' Monument, one of the finest memorial structures in all New England. Just at the southern limit of the city, before reaching the State House, State street is crossed at right angles by Capitol street, the latter separating Mr. Blaine's residence from the State grounds. Augusta is not a place of great business interests,—but is a wealthy, staid, conservative place, in the center of one of the best farming, and most picturesque portions of Maine.

Previous to 1862, Mr. Blaine's home in Augusta had been in the double-tenement house on Green street, nearly opposite the Methodist church. But in that year he purchased the large, square house at the northwest corner of State and Capitol streets, just mentioned, which has since been his home. This house formerly belonged to one of the old families of Augusta, and was sold at the breaking up of the family. It is of wood, two stories high, and originally contained four rooms on the ground floor, an equal number above, with a long ell in the rear extending back from State street. In 1872 Mr. Blaine contemplated the removal of the old, and building of a new house; but on reflection, and considering the many dear associations and recollections connected with his life in it, he concluded to enlarge it by building a rear portion to give more room, making the whole harmonious in exterior, and convenient within.

Consequently the dwelling presents to-day the appearance of two houses connected by a long ell. The main house fronts on State street, standing within a few feet of the street, having a wide vestibule in front, and an annex at the south side which was formerly used as a winter conservatory, but since the house is now only used as a summer residence, this annex makes a cosy alcove leading out from the large parlor. The main house is square, two stories high, with a flat roof surmounted by a cupola. At the west end of the long ell, is the new portion of the house built in 1872. This is square, though smaller than the main house, not as high in the walls, flat-roofed, and surmounted by a cupola—and is of itself almost an exact duplicate of the old, or front house. The whole is of wood, substantially built, plainly finished, and painted a dark drab.

The house is close to the north line of the lot, and at the south is an ample lawn, a few feet lower than the ground whereon the house stands. A row of large maples borders the State street front, while along the Capitol street line are butternuts, maples, several low evergreens, and many old apple trees, the last-named also occupying places on the lawn. Hammocks are suspended between the trees. West of the lawn, near the stable entrance to the grounds—the stable being west from the house—is a hawthorn hedge, and beyond this the vegetable garden.

Entering the house at the State street front, and passing the vestibule, we enter a long, wide hall. At the right is the reception and dining-room, which occupies the entire north half of the house. This was formerly two rooms, but is now one with fluted columns at each side, marking the division. Across the hall to the south is the large parlor, with which the alcove-annex is connected. Pictures in profusion on the walls, and on easels, adorn these rooms. The furnishings are plain and substantial; there is little attempt at embellishment or artistic display; all seems adapted to use. Passing through the long hall in the ell, with its wide veranda at the south, its domestic rooms at the north, and lined as it is on either side by book-cases, large and well filled, we reach the new house. Or this may be entered from the vestibule at the south side, from the lawn. If so entered, we step into a small hall, at the left of which is the billiard room; at the right is the library, while in the rear across a small hall, which is filled with books, is the kitchen. The billiard-room is finished in walnut and ash, with a floor of the same; and on the walls are an oil painting of President Hayes, large photographs of California scenery, and a large map of the United States. The paper upon the walls is green and gold. This room is now used as the work-shop of Mr. Sherman, Mr. Blaine's private secretary.

Opposite the billiard-room is the library. The corners

of this room are cut across, making rooms for closets, and giving the interior an oblong-octagon form. It has two windows, one opening south and one east. The south window looks out directly across the lawn among the apple trees to the State grounds and the Senate wing of the Capitol building; the east one commands a wider range, and when the foliage is off the trees, one can look down State Park to the monument in honor of Gov. Lincoln, and across the river to the Insane Asylum, two miles away. The library is finished in walnut, with paper of dark red and gold. On the north side is an open fireplace. A common library table, with two sets of drawers, occupies the center of the room; on the west side is a large book-case; the walls are hung with engravings. Chairs and lounges are disposed about the room.

Mr. Blaine's favorite position in his library is at the south window, his back to the east window, the light of which falls over his shoulder. Here he has an upholstered easy-chair, and an adjustable writing-stand, or stand for holding large books. In this room Mr. Blaine did the greater part of the work on his history, although when much absorbed he has several times removed his work to his own chamber, immediately over the library, as being less liable to interruptions.

During his summer life in Augusta Mr. Blaine usually rises about 8 o'clock. Previous to rising he will look over the morning *Journal*—the paper of which he was

formerly editor—and some of his letters, in bed. Generally he takes a cup of clear, hot water, as hot as he can drink it, before rising, as a good "tonic" for the stomach. He breakfasts soon after rising, the meal being very simple. Occasionally he will have a steak, or more generally boiled eggs and dry toast. He never drinks coffee, preferring a cup of tea. All the family breakfast together, Mr. Blaine sitting at the head of the table and carving anything that requires the knife. At the breakfast-table he will open and read some of his letters, if he has not read them all before coming down stairs. Ordinarily, when at home, Mr. Blaine's habits are not as methodical, and the day is not worked off with as much exactness, as when he is in Washington; although since he has been at work upon his history he has been obliged to conform to a more economical use of his summer days.

After breakfast a short time is spent with his family and friends, and at ten o'clock he goes to his library and the solid work of the forenoon begins, which is carried on uninterruptedly and with great vigor till 2 o'clock, the hour for dinner. The family are at the dinner-table about an hour. Mr. Blaine usually carves the meats and serves the table, but of late years if his sons are at home he will ask one of them to relieve him.

Dinner consists of three courses; but is always simple and informal, as all the meals are. The conversation is lively and chatty; affairs of the day, historical ques-

tions, and literary matters being the subjects of discussion. Frequently questions arise wherein different opinions prevail, and the children, as well as the older persons, have their say. Sometimes, in the midst of the service, one of the children will leave the table to consult the cyclopædia in order to decide some question of doubt. Mr. Blaine is so completely indifferent to himself that it is not easy to say what dishes are his favorites. Roast of beef, chicken—broiled or fricassed—he is fond of. Vegetables he likes, especially celery. He eats very little bread, no cake, not often pastry, and rarely puddings. He is not a fastidious diner, usually paying little attention to what he eats, and never professing to like a thing because it is choice, or a famous dish. His rule is, if he is hungry, he eats plain, simple food—if his appetite is not quick, he never coaxes it, but waits till he craves a fuller meal.

The dinner-table is always set for more than the family, and it is very rarely that some visitors or friends are not with them at dinner. After dinner, an hour and a half or two hours, or—if work is not pressing—a longer time, is spent in outdoor exercise, and work is again resumed at 4 o'clock and continued till supper. Then Mr. Blaine takes a cup of tea, or some plain bread, occasionally cold meats, but never hot bread or cake. He very seldom eat grapes, peaches, or acid fruit. He never drinks wine, and never has it in his house in Augusta.

Occasionally in Washington he will take a glass of wine but cares so little for it that his most intimate friend cannot tell what kind he prefers. He has never in all his life smoked a cigar, or used tobacco in any form. Once in a while he will indulge in a game of whist—but it is very seldom that he takes cards in his hands. Time is too precious and there is too much work to be done. He is fond of billiards, but seldom plays, excepting for exercise, when the weather does not admit of his taking exercise out of doors, and never at any other table than his own.

After tea the first part of the evening is spent with his family, and friends or neighbors who are with him, or who may drop in. The conversation is chatty, informal, and unstudied, the company occupying the parlor and dining-rooms, as an ordinary American family occupy the living rooms of their house. At 9 or 9.30 o'clock Mr. Blaine retires to his library and spends two hours in answering letters or attending to correspondence and minor matters, of business, after which he retires to sleep "like a log" till morning. He is in perfect health, and his sleep is always as much a matter of discipline as his work.

In his work Mr. Blaine has great directness, method, and concentration—yet to see him at work one might think he was doing it almost without order or system. His old journalistic habits abide by him, and his method

is that of the busy editor rather than of the quiet and orderly scholar; absorption and intensity characterizing all that he does. He is a close reader of journals of the day, reading with great rapidity and attention. A rapid glance over the columns of one paper is sufficient; another will receive a more complete reading, a few moments being sufficient to absorb all he wishes; occasionally he will read an article of several columns in length in ten or fifteen minutes. All the papers are gone through with rapidly in this manner and after being read are thrown upon the floor. If he wishes to retain an article which appears in a paper he lays it aside to be referred to again.

Papers are only read for the news of the day—never for opinions, Mr. Blaine depending upon no journal for these. He receives all the leading papers published, and reads them all. When at his home in Augusta he depends upon the Kennebec *Journal*, Lewiston *Evening Journal*, and Boston *Journal* for the daily news—others coming in as secondary. If he has a favorite paper it is probably the New York *Tribune*. All the leading American magazines and reviews are taken and regularly read, while to some extent Mr. Blaine makes clippings from the papers on subjects of public interest, he has no hobby of this nature, as many public men seem to have. What is preserved is kept in a plain scrap-book more for the use of his Private Secretary than because

he himself will need it—Mr. Blaine being able to draw from his own well-disciplined memory, anything wanted, more readily than it could be obtained from an indexed scrap-book.

In opening and attending to his correspondence the same rapidity and directness are employed as in reading the journals of the day. His letters are always torn open, usually across the fold at the top, the contents noted in an instant, and again returned to the envelope to await answer. If not driven by work, or if attending to correspondence in the presence of friends, chatting the while, Mr. Blaine has the habit of tearing up, and folding up the envelopes, as he opens his letters, forming a sharp corner of the paper and picking his fore teeth with the same. Mr. Blaine has always written his most important letters himself, but generally he dictates to his secretary, in brief, and the great bulk of his correspondence is answered by Mr. Sherman, who notes upon each letter received a synopsis of its contents. The letters of each writer are then finally filed by themselves.

In the more elaborate work of composing his history, speeches, or papers, Mr. Blaine is the same rapid worker that he is in reading the journals or letters. His power of persistent, concentrated, absorptive work is tremendous, and is done with so much quietness and ease that he seems never to realize himself what a worker he is, or the great sum of that which is accomplished in a day.

The writing of his history was largely done in Augusta during the summer and fall of 1883, although the revised proofs were prepared in Washington in the winter of 1883–4. For a while during the preparation of his history Mr. Blaine dictated to a stenographer and the copy was extended by means of a type writer, but the plan was not long continued. It was apparent that there was more expenditure of force by this means than that of writing. In dictating he had to keep in mind the entire sentence, in order to make it clear and logical, while in writing the mind was more at ease as the connection could always be seen on the page before him. He could readily refer to what had been said, and in consequence the stylus of the reporter was displaced by the pen in his own hand—a return to the old method of the editorial desk. His copy is sometimes re-written by his secretary in order to make it more legible to the compositors than Mr. Blaine's own rapid hand-writing. Mr. Blaine at his work is so absorbed that the noise of children never disturbes him, even if they are at play in the room where he is.

At his home in Augusta Mr. Blaine has a library of some three thousand volumes, the bulk of his collection being in Washington. The books are mostly disposed in the lower part of the house, in the library, dining-room, and halls. Most of the book-cases have glazed doors. The books are such as would naturally be found

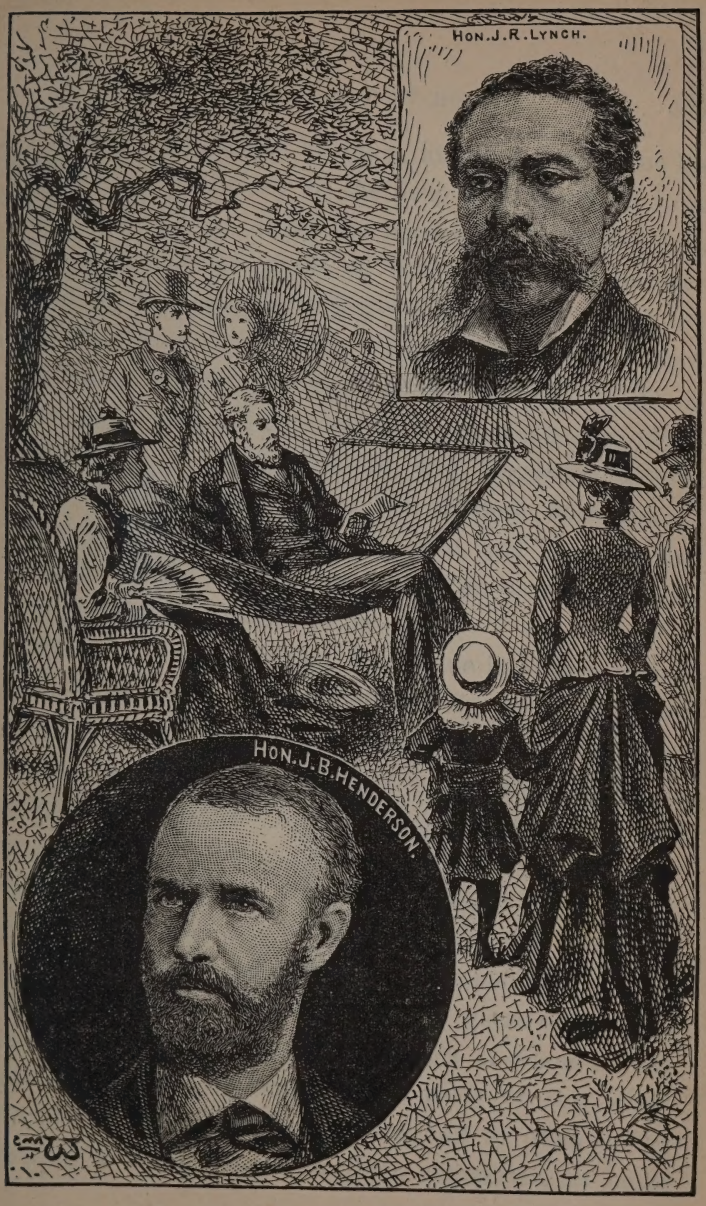
in the library of an active, busy, public man—official publications of government, history, international law, biographies of great men, works on economic science. The great poets and philosophers are found on the shelves, and some of the masters of fiction. He is a great reader of and is very familiar with the Bible. He studies Macaulay and has great admiration for his style. He likes to read of Napoleon the Great. He admires Webster, and reads Burke, Lord Bacon, and Blackstone. He is a fine Shakespearian scholar, but devotes little time to poetry. In fiction his favorites are Ivanhoe, some of Dickens' works, Daniel Deronda, and Jane Eyre. His special favorites are the works of Charlotte Brontë.

While Mr. Blaine loves good bindings and choice editions, he cannot in any sense be termed a bibliophile, esteeming books chiefly for their interior worth, and their service to his work. He is so much devoted to his studies, that it can hardly be said he ever reads for amusement. On facts, names, and dates of history, his information is stupendous, minute, and exact. The slightest reference to any subject of American, English, or Continental history, or public affairs, past or contemporary, is sufficient to bring up in his mind almost instantly, all the details pertaining to it with wonderful accuracy. He has made extensive collections of works relating to finance, statistics, labor and wages, emigration, and economic science in general. In these

branches, Mr. Blaine may be regarded an expert. His memory is prodigious, almost phenomenal. He can name every county in every State and Territory of the Union.

While he is a good critic in matters pertaining to art, Mr. Blaine has less fondness for these than for historic and literary subjects. His house is adorned with rare engravings and prints, preferring them to oil, and he has hundreds of choice prints, engravings, and etchings in portfolios, in all his rooms.

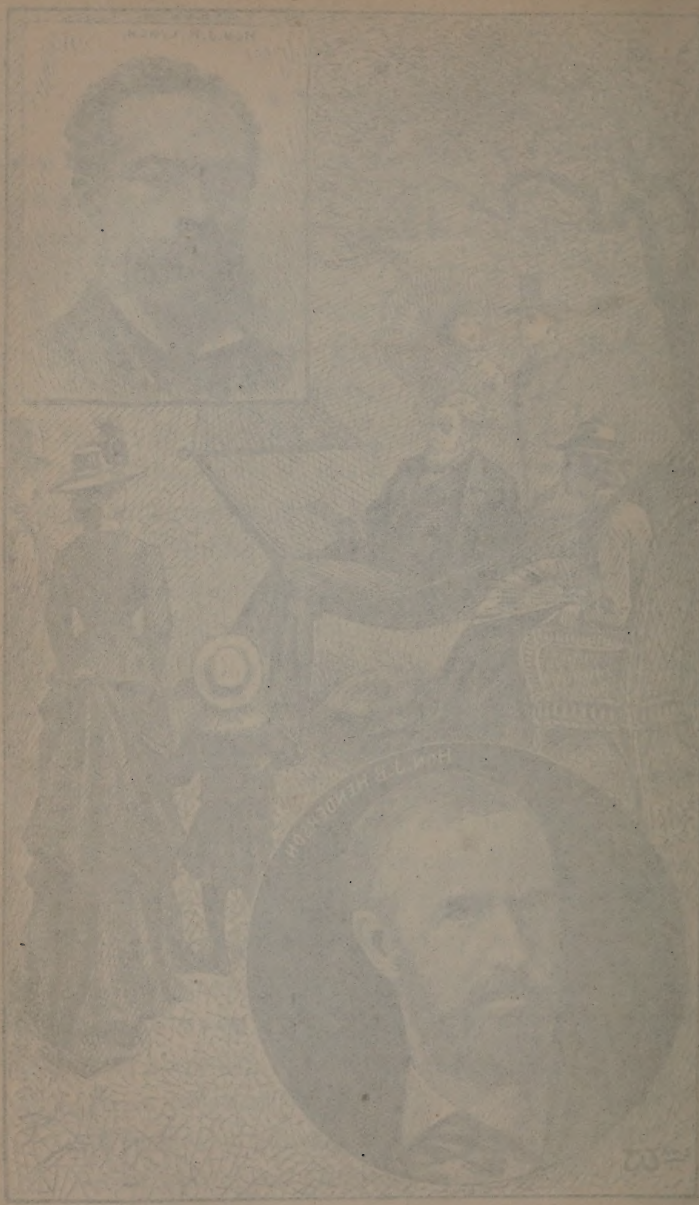
Mr. Blaine derives great enjoyment from walking, and this may be said to constitute his leading exercise. He had much rather walk than ride, and generally dislikes to be troubled with a horse. Once a week, however, he usually drives to Hammond's Grove, on Lake Cobbasseccoutee, a favorite local resort of great beauty five miles from the city, taking his children or some friend with him. When hard at work and he is obliged to somewhat limit his time for exercise, Mr. Blaine walks back and forth the long stretch of lawn south of the house, often dictating to his secretary; and at one time Mr. Sherman improvised a rather primitive plank desk, at which he wrote down what Mr. Blaine had studied out during his walks. When walking among his apple trees, he is constantly reaching up among the boughs over his head and half-suspending himself, in order to give the muscles of his arms and chest full exercise.



JAMES G. BLAINE AND HIS FAMILY AT THEIR HOME IN AUGUSTA, ME., WAITING FOR THE RESULT OF THE BALLOT IN CHICAGO.

Portrait of Hon. John R. Lynch—Born a Slave—Temporary Chairman of the Republican Convention of 1884.

Portrait of Hon. John B. Henderson, Permanent Chairman of the Republican Convention of 1884.



If time will admit he takes longer walks, one of his favorite haunts being to the deep glen westward from the State House, along the borders of a wooded hill, where is a small sheet of water; and still another being to the summit of "Burnt Hill" at the top of the highest terraced elevation west of the city—a spot known as "Oliver's Ledge," at the extreme height of this hill, among oaks and low evergreens, is often visited. It is shady, secluded, and commands a wide and fine view. Here, when his children were young, he used to go with them, his wife, and some of the children of the neighborhood, as often as once a week, and partake of a basket picnic.

When taking his walks, Mr. Blaine is always accompanied by some of his children, by friends visiting him, or some of his old neighbors. During these walks, he is always fluent in conversation. If his companion be an old friend, his conversation is usually of his early life in Augusta, his old friends and acquaintances, and the changes that have taken place. If a public man, it is of public affairs with which he has been connected; but it is noticeable that in all these conversations one would never guess his politics, and never know whether the friends of whom he was talking belonged to one political party or the other. He is ever just to his opponents, and as often brings forward a strong point in their characters, as he is

ready to show a weakness in that of his own political friends.

In his every-day home life, Mr. Blaine is very simple and sensible. He wears a plain business suit of mixed Scotch goods, and when he dresses in the morning, he is dressed for the day. He never wears a dressing-gown, seldom is seen with slippers on; but in summer wears a low-cut shoe, and is always ready for a run on the lawn or in the garden, or a ride with a friend. When seated in a chair, he generally sits erect or bends forward slightly, his arms resting on the arms of the chair (if it has any), his legs crossed, and his hands clasped in front of him. He never uses a rocking-chair, and seldom or never reclines backward in the chair in which he may be seated. He wears no jewelry, never carries a watch, and when traveling asks his companions the hour of the day.

On Sundays, Mr. Blaine always attends service at the historic Old South Congregational Church, with the members of his family and friends who may be visiting him, and of this church he became a member in 1858. In the family there is always the greatest freedom, and visitors and friends are at liberty to be as familiar as they would in their own house. Indeed, there is more homeliness and less formality in Mr. Blaine's residence than in the homes of the majority of prominent men.

Among his neighbors, and in the social life of the town, Mr. Blaine is held in universal love and esteem. Although a brilliant conversationalist when in company, a fine listener, and exquisite in his manifestations of deference to his friends and visitors, on the street, among his neighbors, and around the town generally, he is chatty and social with all. He has the nod of recognition, the cheery word, the hearty hand-shake for everybody. He is quick to recognize an old friend, and never forgets a face or a name. He talks with his workmen, makes acquaintances easily, and in conversation seems ever to aim at drawing out what his friends know about their own business or occupations rather than impressing them with a sense of his own superior wisdom.

When speaking of Augusta or of his old acquaintances, he always refers to them in the most tender and pathetic way, and has often said he would not exchange his old home, the people who have been so kind to him, and the haunts that are so dear to him, for anything in the world beside. He bears the love of all, and his charity and benevolence to the poor and needy are almost without bounds. He has a warm heart, the most kindly instincts, and a frank, manly, generous nature.

Mrs. Blaine is a woman of great, good judgment, quick perception, and heroic courage. She is a great reader, an excellent entainer, and abundantly informed in ancient and recent history. She carries on a large per-

sonal correspondence; superintends all the domestic affairs of the household, directs the marketing and pays all the family expenses. Mr. Blaine has great fondness for his wife and children, his children being his only pets, and on retiring in the evening they invariably have the good-night kiss from father's lips, even though of adult years and in presence of company.

Mr. Blaine's family consists of six children, although his eldest daughter, Alice, now Mrs. Coppinger, can hardly be said to comprise one of the household. The eldest son, Walker, is a graduate of Yale College and of Columbia Law School, New York, and is Assistant Counsel for the United States in the Court of Commissioners of Alabama Claims, in Washington. His second son, Emmons, is a graduate of Harvard College, and is now Freight Agent, in charge of the Iowa and Dakota Division of the Chicago & North Western Railway, with headquarters at Cedar Rapids, Iowa. The youngest son is James G., Jr., and now fifteen years of age. The younger daughters are Margaret and Harriet.

Mr. Blaine's residence in Washington has long been famous for its hospitality, and is thus described by a correspondent of the Philadelphia *Press:*

"About three years ago Mr. Blaine bought an expensive lot fronting on Dupont Circle, in the extreme Northwestern end of the city, where recently there has been a great real estate boom, and proceeded to erect upon it

one of the finest houses in the district, where he intended to live in grand style as Secretary of State, but the untimely death of Garfield prevented the carrying out of this plan, and, moreover, he found it more expensive than it was worth.

"The house was complete in style and appointments and from nine to eleven servants were necessary to run it. This gave Mrs. Blaine a vast amount of trouble, and they finally determined to rent the house, a good customer being found in the person of Mr. Leiter, of Chicago, at a rental of $15,000 a year. Mr. Blaine then rented a house on Jackson Square, next door to that occupied by General Beal and opposite to the historic residence of General Sickles. Mr. Corcoran also lives on another side of this square; and until recently Bob Ingersoll occupied another of the residences, the White House fronting it on the South. The square is a very quiet one, famous for its prancing statue of Jackson, and among horticulturists for its splendid variety of shrubs and trees, the largest, it is said, in any small park in the country."

CHAPTER XIV.

MR. BLAINE'S VIEWS ON IMPORTANT TOPICS OF THE DAY.

Blaine on the Republican Party.—Not Immaculate, but Never Cowardly.—His Views on the Chinese Immigration Question.—Speech in the Senate.—Letter to Wm. Lloyd Garrison.—Opposed to Competition of Cheap Labor.—Debasing Influence of Chinese in the Pacific Coast States.—The Buzzi Case.—"Once an American, Always an American."—Troops at the Polls.—Postal Cards.—The Costello Case.—Status of a Naturalized Citizen.—Free Trade and Protection.—History of Free Trade in England.—English Protection of Shipping Interests.—Early Trade Policy of the United States.—Effects of Free Trade and Protection Contrasted.—Advantages of Protection to the American Workingman.—A Picture of the Future.—Civil Service Reform.—Mr. Blaine's Views Concerning It.

In one of his speeches made to the Republicans of Portland, in 1882, Mr. Blaine said:—

"Whatever may be said of the Republican party—and that a party could be in power twenty-one years and not make mistakes would be absurd; that a party could have millions of people and not have a dishonest man among them would be absurd—but whatever may be said of the Republican party, there is one thing that

never can be truthfully said—it never can be said that it was not a brave party; it never can be said that it had a drop of coward's blood in its whole organization!"

In a speech in the Senate in February, 1879, Mr. Blaine said that the Chinese government agreed to make a law that emigration should be entirely voluntary, but it never did so, and the treaty stood broken by China from the beginning. This country and this Senate would not hesitate to defy any European power which should act as China had done. So far as his vote was concerned he would not admit a man as an immigrant to this country whom he was not willing to make a citizen. Under our system of government we should never admit people who are not to aid in the government and take part in the body politic.

In his letter to William Lloyd Garrison, about the same time, Mr. Blaine said: "Put the two classes of labor side by side and the cheap servile labor pulls down the more manly toil to its level. Whoever contends for the unrestricted immigration of Chinese coolies contends for that system of toil which blights the prospects of the white laborer—dooming him to starvation wages, killing his ambition by rendering his struggle hopeless, and ending in a plodding and pitiable poverty. I do not at all exaggerate when I say that on the adoption or rejection of the policy passed upon by Congress hangs the fate of the Pacific slope—whether its labor shall be

that of American freemen or servile Mongolians. There is no ground on which we are bound to receive them to our own detriment. Charity is the first of Christian graces. As with a family, so with a nation; the same instinct of self-preservation exists, the same right to prefer the interests of our own people, the same duty to exclude that which is corrupting and dangerous to the Republic. The Chinese question connects itself intimately and inseparably with the labor question. In a republic where the man who works carries a ballot in his hands, it will not do for capitalized wealth to legislate for cheap labor. There is not a laboring man from the Penobscot to the Sacramento who would not feel aggrieved, outraged, burdened, crushed, by being forced into competition with the labor and the wages of the Chinese cooly. For one I will never consent, by my vote or my voice, to drive the intelligent workingmen of America to that competition and that degradation."

In the celebrated Buzzi case Mr. Blaine declined to recognize the power of a commission to denationalize an American citizen. He took the broad, firm ground that when a court of competent jurisdiction makes a man a citizen there is no power in the Executive Department to reverse that judgment, and that what the Executive Department cannot do itself it cannot permit a commission, which is the mere creation of Executive authority, to do.

In a discussion in the Senate, in 1879, on the question of troops at the polls during elections, Mr. Blaine said: "I wonder how amazing it would be to any man in Europe, familiar as Europeans are with great armies, if he were told that over a territory larger than France and Spain and Portugal and Great Britain and Holland and Belgium and the German Empire all combined there were but 1,155 soldiers! That is all this Democratic howl, this mad cry, this false issue, this absurd talk, is based on. The impression sought to be created, here and in Europe, is that elections are attempted in this country to be controlled by the bayonet. I denounce it here as a false issue. I am not at liberty to say that any gentleman making the issue knows it to be false, but I am going to prove to him that it is false, and that there is not a solitary inch of solid earth on which to rest the foot of any man that makes that issue."

While a member of the Post-office Committee of the House of Representatives, he took an active part in securing the system of postal cars now in general use.

In 1867, one Augustine Costello was arrested while in Ireland and placed on trial for a speech which he made in New York while an American citizen, in 1865. The speech was construed as treasonable, and, under the act of 1848, which especially declared England's right to punish upon British soil British-born subjects for treasonable utterances or performances made upon foreign

territory, Costello was sentenced to sixteen years' penal servitude. His claims of American citizenship were ignored upon the ground that there was nothing existing between the United States and Great Britain debarring Great Britain from claiming as a British subject any person born on British soil. Costello was removed to Millbank prison, when Mr. Blaine took up his case. Blaine organized a Congressional agitation, which resulted in the liberation of Costello and his colleagues, who possessed full American naturalization, and the treaty of 1870, in which Great Britain surrendered all claims of allegiance from British subjects who became naturalized as American citizens.

Mr. Blaine's views on the tariff question are set forth in Chapter IX of his book, "Twenty Years in Congress." The following extract is taken from the closing portion of the chapter, and will be read with interest:

"Strictly speaking, there has never been a proposition by any party in the United States for the adoption of free trade. To be entirely free, trade must encounter no obstruction in the way of tax, either upon export or import. In that sense no nation has ever enjoyed free trade. As contradistinguished from the theory of protection, England has realized freedom of trade by taxing only that class of imports which meet no competition in home production, thus excluding all pretence of favor or advantage to any of her domestic industries. England

came to this policy after having clogged and embarrassed trade for a long period by the most unreasonable and tyrannical restrictions, ruthlessly enforced, without regard to the interests or even the rights of others. She had more than four hundred Acts of Parliament regulating the tax on imports, under the old designation of 'tonnage and poundage,' adjusted, as the phrase indicates, to heavy and light commodities. Beyond these, she had a cumbersome system of laws regulating, and in many cases prohibiting, the exportation of articles which might teach to other nations the skill by which she had herself so marvelously prospered.

"When, by long experiment and persistent effort, England had carried her fabrics to perfection; when, by the large accumulation of wealth and the force of reserved capital, she could command facilities which poorer nations could not rival; when, by the talent of her inventors, developed under the stimulus of large reward, she had surpassed all other countries in the magnitude and effectiveness of her machinery, she proclaimed free trade, and persuasively urged it upon all lands with which she had commercial intercourse. Maintaining the most arbitrary and most complicated system of protection so long as her statesmen deemed that policy advantageous, she resorted to free trade only when she felt able to invade the domestic markets of other countries, and undersell the fabrics produced by strug-

gling artisans who were sustained by weaker capital and by less advanced skill. So long as there was danger that her own marts might be invaded, and the products of her looms and forges undersold at home, she rigidly excluded the competing fabric and held her own market for her own wares.

"England was, however, neither consistent nor candid in her advocacy of free trade. She did not apply it to all departments of her enterprises, but only to those in which she felt confident that she could defy competition. Long after the triumph of free trade in manufactures, as proclaimed in 1846, England continued to violate every principle of her own creed in the protection she extended to her navigation interests. She had nothing to fear from the United States in the domain of manufactures, and she therefore asked us to give her the unrestricted benefit of our markets in exchange for a similar privilege which she offered to us in her markets. But on the sea we were steadily gaining upon her, and in 1850–55, were nearly equal to her in aggregate tonnage. We could build wooden vessels at less cost than England, and our ships excelled hers in speed. When steam began to compete with sail, she saw her advantage. She could build engines at less cost than we, and when, soon afterward, her ship-builders began to construct the entire steamer of iron, her advantages became evident to the whole world.

"England was not content however with the superiority which these advantages gave to her. She did not wait for her own theory of free trade to work out its legitimate results, but forthwith stimulated the growth of her steam-marine by the most enormous bounties ever paid by any nation to any enterprise. To a single line of steamers, running alternate weeks from Liverpool to Boston and New York, she paid nine hundred thousand dollars annually, and continued to pay at this extravagant rate for at least twenty years. In all channels of trade where steam could be employed she paid lavish subsidies, literally destroyed fair competition, and created for herself a practical monopoly in the building of iron steamers and a superior share in the ocean traffic of the world. But every step she took in the development of her steam-marine by the payment of bounty was in flat contradiction of the creed which she was at the same time advocating in those departments of trade where she could conquer her competitors without bounty.

"With her superiority in navigation attained and made secure through the instrumentality of subsidies, England could afford to withdraw them. Her ships no longer needed them. Thereupon, with a promptness which would be amusing if it did not have so serious a side for America, she proceeded to inveigh through all her organs of public opinion against the discarded and condemned policy of granting subsidies to ocean steamers. Her

course in effect is an exact repetition of that in regard to protection of manufactures, but as it is exhibited before a new generation, the inconsistency is not so readily apprehended nor so keenly appreciated as it should be on this side of the Atlantic. Even now there is good reason for believing that many lines of English steamers, in their efforts to sieze the trade to the exclusion of rivals, are paid such extravagant rates for the carrying of letters as practically to amount to a bounty, thus confirming to the present day (1884) the fact that no nation has ever been so persistently and so jealously protective in her policy as England so long as the stimulus of protection is needed to give her the command of trade. What is true of England is true in a greater or less degree of all other European nations. They have each in turn regulated the adoption of free trade by the ratio of their progress towards the point where they could overcome competition. In all those departments of trade where competition could overcome them they have been quick to interpose protective measures for the benefit of their own people.

"The trade policy of the United States at the foundation of the government had features of enlightened liberality which were unknown in any other country of the world. The new government was indeed so far in advance of European nations in the proper conceptions of liberal commerce as it was on questions relating to

the character of the African slave-trade. The colonists had experienced the oppression of the English laws which prohibited export from the mother country of the very articles which might advance their material interest and improve their social condition. They now had the opportunity, as citizens of a free Republic, to show the generous breadth of their statesmanship, and they did so by providing in their Constitution that Congress should never possess the power to levy 'a tax or duty on articles exported from any State.'

"The essential question which has grown up between political parties in the United States respecting our foreign trade is, whether a duty should be laid upon any import for the direct object of protecting and encouraging the manufacture of the same article at home. The party opposed to this theory does not advocate the admission of the articles free, but insists upon such rate of duty as will produce the largest revenue, and at the same time afford what is termed 'incidental protection.' The advocates of actual free trade, according to the policy of England,—taxing only those articles which are not produced at home,—are few in number and are principally confined to *doctrinaires*. The instincts of the masses of both parties are against them. But the nominal free-trader finds it very difficult to unite the largest revenue from any article with 'incidental protection' to the competing products at home. If the duty be so arranged as

to produce the greatest amount of revenue, it must be placed at the point where the foreign article is able to undersell the domestic article and thus command the market to the exclusion of competition. This result goes beyond what the so-called American free-trader intends in practice, but not beyond what he implies in theory.

"The American protectionist does not seek to evade the legitimate results of his theory. He starts with the proposition that whatever is manufactured at home gives work and wages to our own people, and that if the duty is even put so high as to prohibit the import of the foreign article, the competition of home producers will, according to the doctrine of Mr. Hamilton, rapidly reduce the price to the consumer. He gives numerous illustrations of articles which, under the influence of home competition, have fallen in price below the point at which the foreign article was furnished when there was no protection. The free-trader replies that the fall in price has been still greater in foreign markets; the protectionist rejoins that the reduction was made to compete with the American product, and that the former price would probably have been maintained so long as the importer had the monopoly of our market. Thus our protective tariff reduced the price in both countries. This has notably been the result with respect to steel rails, the production of which in America has reached a magnitude sur-

passing that of England. Meanwhile rails have largely fallen in price to the consumer, the home manufacture has disbursed countless millions of money among American laborers, and has added largely to our industrial independence, and to the wealth of the country.

"While many articles have fallen to as low a price in the United States as elsewhere, it is not to be denied that articles of clothing and household use, metals and machinery, are on an average higher than in Europe. The difference is due, in a large degree, to the wages paid to labor, and thus the question of reducing the tariff carries with it the very serious problem of reduction in the pay of the artisan and the operative. This involves so many grave considerations that no party is prepared to advocate it openly. Free-traders do not, and, apparently, dare not, face the plain truth—which is that the lowest-priced fabric means the lowest-priced labor. On this point protectionists are more frank than their opponents; they realize that it constitutes indeed the most impregnable defense of their school. Free-traders have attempted at times to deny the truth of the statement; but every impartial investigation has thus far conclusively proved that labor is better paid, and the average condition of the laboring man more comfortable, in the United States than in any European country.

"An adjustment of the protective duty to the point which represents the average difference between wages of labor

in Europe and in America, will, in the judgment of protectionists, always prove impracticable. The difference cannot be regulated by a scale of averages, because it is constantly subject to arbitrary changes.

"If the duty be adjusted on that basis for any given date, a reduction of wages would at once be enforced abroad, and the American manufacturer would in consequence be driven to the desperate choice of surrendering the home market or reducing the pay of workmen. The theory of protection is not answered, nor can its realization be attained by any such device. Protection, in the perfection of its design, as described by Mr. Hamilton, does not invite competition from abroad, but is based on the controlling principle that competition at home will always prevent monopoly on the part of the capitalist, assure good wages to the laborer, and defend the consumer against the evils of extortion.

"The assailants of protection apparently overlook the fact that excessive production is due, both in England and in America, to causes beyond the operation of duties, either high or low. No cause is more potent than the prodigious capacity of machinery set in motion by the agency of steam. It is asserted by an intelligent economist that, if performed by hand, the work done by machinery in Great Britain would require the labor of seven hundred millions of men,—a far larger number of adults than inhabit the globe. It is not strange that with this

vast enginery, the power to produce has a tendency to outrun the power to consume. Protectionists find in this a conclusive argument against surrendering the domestic markets of the United States to the control of British capitalists, whose power of production has no apparent limit. When the harmonious adjustment of international trade shall ultimately be established by "The Parliament of Man" in "The Federation of the World," the power of production and the power of consumption will properly balance each other; but in traversing the long road and enduring the painful process by which that end shall be reached, the protectionist claims that his theory of revenue preserves the new nations from being devoured by the older, and offers to human labor a shield against the actions of capital."

In regard to civil-service reform, Mr. Blaine's position is thus defined by Senator Mitchell of Pennsylvania, one of the most bitter opponents of the use of government patronage for political purposes. Senator Mitchell says:

"Early in 1882 I had a talk with Mr. Blaine relative to the necessity for the passage of a law to reform the civil service. At that time I was a member of the Civil-Service Committee, and I had the same deep interest in the subject that I still feel. I saw impending trouble for the party in Pennsylvania growing out of the deliberate attempt of the politicians to thwart the will of the people, and I felt convinced that the enactment of a law placing

the appointment of subordinate government officials beyond the power of the favorites of the administration was essential to the maintenance of the supremacy of the Republican party. At this time you could have counted upon the fingers of one hand all the Senators who would have voted for the passage of such a civil-service law as we now enjoy. Then it was that I talked with Mr. Blaine on the subject, and to my gratification he expressed himself in the strongest terms in favor of the enactment of a law regulating appointments to office. It was not until the political earthquake of 1882, when the people expressed their emphatic disapproval of machine methods, that the Republicans were aroused to the necessity for passing a civil-service bill. Mr. Blaine was then far in advance of the great majority of the Republican Senators in favor of this reform, and it is a fact that I think the independent voters of the country should understand."

The following, on the same subject, is from *Harper's Weekly*, of Sept. 23, 1882:

"The speeches of Mr. Blaine in Maine and of Senator Harrison in Indiana, with the brief and unmistakable order of Mayor Low in Brooklyn, relieving every employé of all fear of the local Hubbell, and the significant declaration of more than a thousand leading citizens of Massachusetts of all parties that they will vote for no Representative in Congress whose character and

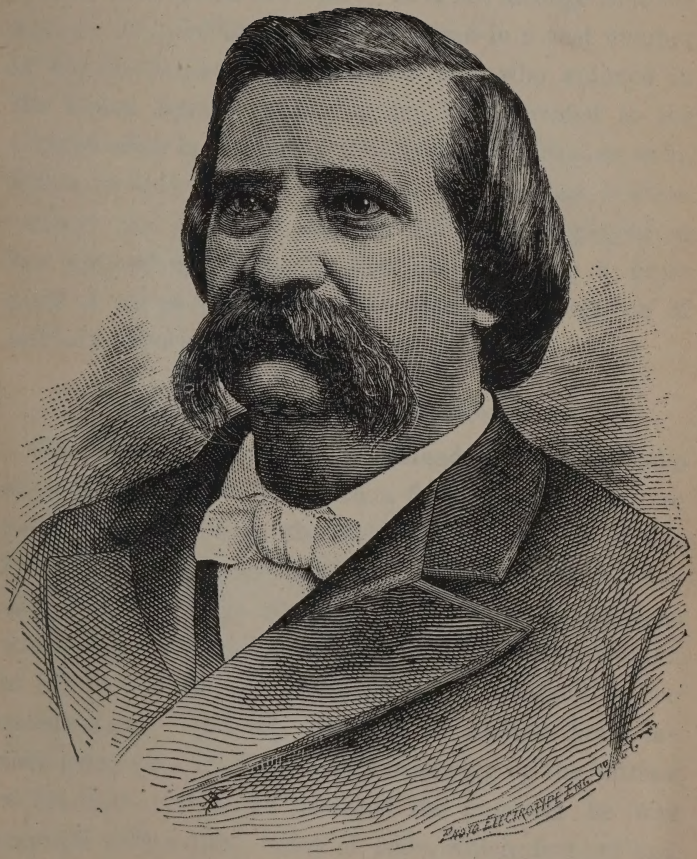
record do not promise an earnest and agressive action for reform, are all unmistakable signs of a public conviction and purpose which will certainly have their way. . . . . Mr. Blaine *pronounced plainly for some kind of reform*, and Mr. Blaine said in detail that he should be glad to see every Federal officer, however honorable his position, appointed for a specific term, during which he could not be removed except for causes to be specified, proved, and recorded, and for subordinate officers he thought that seven years would be a proper term of office."

CHAPTER XV.

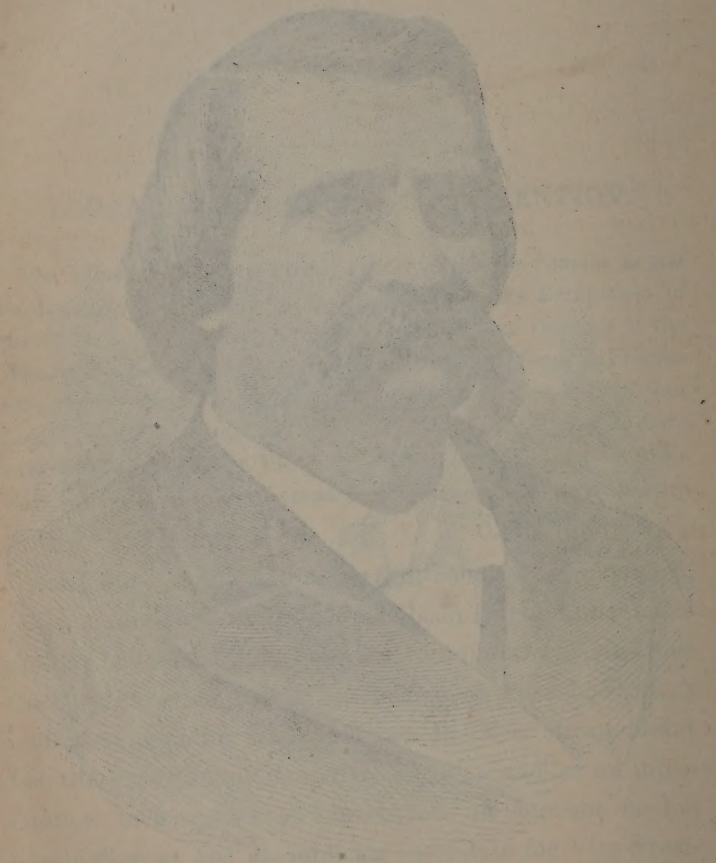
LOGAN IN THE CHICAGO CONVENTION.

The Illinois Delegation Firmly Resolved to Make Senator Logan the Republican Candidate for the Presidency.—The Enthusiasm in the Convention for "The Greatest of the Civilian Generals of the War."—Senator Cullom's Nominating Speech.—General Prentiss Seconds the Nomination.—Firm Support on Three Ballots, but Logan's Strength Transferred to Blaine on the Fourth, by his Own Orders.—Nominated for Vice-President by Senator Plumb, and the Nomination Numerously Seconded.—Declared the Candidate by a Unanimous Vote.

JOHN A. LOGAN, the patriot, congressman, soldier, senator, and popular leader, had been in the minds of a multitude during many months preceding the Republican Convention which opened in Chicago on June 3, 1884, as a suitable man for first place on the Republican ticket for the Presidential campaign of 1884, and as an introduction to a sketch of his career, an account of his nomination as the Republican candidate for Vice-President will possess interest and value. Said the New York *Times*, on the day after the Chicago Convention ad-



PORTRAIT OF GEN. JOHN A. LOGAN, REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.



journed: "The record of his service in the Union Army perhaps entitles him to be called the greatest of the civilian generals of the war." It is not strange that the memory of a brilliant soldier inspired in a vast number of the survivors of the 2,772,366 men who enlisted in the Union Army a desire to see him elevated to the highest office in the gift of the people, and that an exhibition, on both floors of Congress, of the same fearless courage and masterly sagacity which he displayed in war secured sympathy for that desire among a great mass of the people who had no enthusiasm begotten of military experience.

THE ILLINOIS DELEGATION.

The Illinois delegation contained forty men who entered the convention with a firm determination to make John A. Logan the Republican candidate for the Presidency, and when, on Thursday evening, June 5th, a call of the States in alphabetical order for nominations was made, the name of Illinois brought Senator Cullom to his feet, about four thousand voices indulged in the exclamation, "Ah! ah! ah!" as he walked down the aisle toward the platform, coolly buttoning up the buttons of his coat, and as he mounted the platform he was received with a fresh volley of yells, which died out and were renewed again as he confronted the audience from the speaker's desk.

SENATOR CULLOM'S NOMINATING SPEECH.

He presented the name of John A. Logan in the following words:

"Mr. President and gentlemen of the Convention: Twenty-four years ago the Second National Convention of the Republican party met in this city and nominated its first successful candidate for President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln. Abraham Lincoln led the Republican party to its first great victory, and stands to-day in the estimation of the world as the grandest figure and most majestic figure in all modern time. Again in 1868 another Republican Convention came together in this city and nominated as its candidate for President of the United States another eminent citizen of Illinois, Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, and the Republican party was again victorious. Still again in 1880 the Republican party turned its face toward this political Mecca where two successful campaigns had been organized, and the martyred Garfield led the Republican hosts to another glorious victory. Mr. President and fellow-citizens, it is good for us to be here. There are omens of victory in the air. History repeats itself. There are promises of triumph to the Republican party in holding its National Nominating Convention in this great emporium of the Northwest.

"The Commonwealth of Illinois, which has never wavered in its devotion to Republican principles since it

gave to the Nation—aye, to the world—the illustrious Lincoln, has commissioned me, through its Republican voters, to present to this convention for its consideration as the standard-bearer of the Republican party another son of Illinois, one whose name will be recognized from one end of this land to the other as that of an able statesman, a brilliant soldier, and an honest man, Gen. John A. Logan, of Illinois.

"He is a native of the State which he now represents in the councils of the nation. Reared among the youth of a section where every element of manhood is early brought into play, he is eminently a man of the people, identified with them in interest, in taste, and in feeling, and enjoying their sympathy, respect, and confidence. The safety, the permanency, and the prosperity of the nation depend upon the courage, the integrity, the intelligence, and the loyalty of its citizens. When yonder starry flag was assailed by enemies in arms, when the integrity of the Union was imperiled by organized treason, when the storm of war threatened the very life of this nation, this gallant son of the Prairie State resigned his seat in the Congress of the United States, returned to his home, and was among the first of our citizens to raise a regiment and march to the front in defense of his country. Like Douglas, he believed that in time of war men must be either patriots or traitors, and he threw his mighty influence on the side of the Union, and Illi-

nois made a record second to none in the history of States in the struggle to preserve this Government.

"Among the large number of the brave soldiers of the late war whose names are proudly written on the scroll of fame none appear more grandly than the name of Logan. His history is a part of the history of the battles of Belmont, of Donelson, of Shiloh, of Vicksburg, of Lookout Mountain, of Atlanta, and of the famous March to the Sea. He never lost a battle. I repeat again, Mr. President and fellow-citizens, he never lost a battle in all the struggles of the war. When there was fighting to be done he did not wait for orders, neither did he fail to obey orders when received. His plume, like the white plume of Henry of Navarre, was always to be seen at the point where the battle raged the hottest. During the long struggle of four years he commanded by authority of the Government first a regiment, then a brigade, then a division, then an army corps, and finally an army. He remained in the service until the war closed, when at the head of his army, with the scars of battle upon him, he marched into the capital of the nation, and, with the brave men whom he had led on a hundred hard-fought fields, he was mustered out of service under the very shadow of the Capitol Building which he had left four years before as a member of Congress to go out and fight the battles of his country.

"Then, when the war was over, and gentle peace, which

'hath her victories,' returned, he was again called by his fellow-citizens to take his place in the councils of the nation. In a service of twenty years in both Houses of Congress he has shown himself to be no less able and distinguished as a statesman than he was renowned as a soldier. Cautious, prudent, conservative in the advocacy of measures involving the public welfare, ready and eloquent in debate, fearless—yes, I repeat again, fearless—in defense of the rights of the weak against the oppressions of the strong, he stands to-day—and I say it without disposition to pluck one laurel from the brow of any man whose name may be presented to this convention—I say he stands to-day in my judgment closer to the great mass of the people of this country than almost any other man now engaging public attention. No man has done more in defense of those principles which have given life, and spirit, and victory to the Republican party than has John A. Logan of Illinois. In all that goes to make up a brilliant military and civil career, and to commend a man to the favor of the people, he, whose name we have presented here to-night, has shown himself to be the peer of the best.

"We ask you, therefore, to give him this nomination, because he would not be assailed and he is not assailable. We ask you to nominate him because his public record is so clean that even political calumny dare not attack it. We ask you to nominate him in behalf of the hun-

dreds of thousands of brave veteran volunteer soldiers who are to-night, all over this broad land, standing around the telegraph offices waiting to know whether that gallant leader of the volunteer soldiers of this country is to receive the nomination at your hands. We ask you to nominate him in behalf of the white and black Republicans of the South who are here by the hundreds appealing to this convention, as the representative of our grand old party, to give your protection and to vindicate them in their rights in the South.

"Now, my friends, standing in the midst of this vast assembly of representative citizens of this grand Republic —aye, in the sublime presence of the people themselves, represented here to-night in all their majesty—we offer you the name of a tried hero and patriot, the sagacious and incorruptible statesman, the man who, as we all know, never sulked in his tent; we offer you General John A. Logan of Illinois, and ask you to make him your nominee. If you will give him the nomination he will give you a glorious victory in November next; and when he shall have taken his position as President of this great Republic you may be assured you will have an administration in the interest of labor, in the interest of education, in the interest of commerce, in the interest of finance, in the interest of peace at home and peace abroad, and in the interest of the prosperity of this great people."

SECONDED BY GENERAL B. M. PRENTISS OF MISSOURI.

Senator Cullom was frequently interrupted by applause, and when his tall form disappeared the slight figure of General Prentiss ascended the platform, and in a tremulous tenor voice, which one of the correspondents described as like Niobe, "all tears," he seconded the nomination in the following words:

"Mr. Chairman:—It is a great pleasure for me to stand here to-night to second the nomination just made from a State in which I have resided for forty-one years. It is a glorious privilege for me to stand before this convention and say a word or two by way of seconding the nomination of a man pursuing his own course, endowed with energy, until to-day he is the equal of any of the great statesmen of our land; a man pursuing his own course, from poverty up, until to-night he is reaching for the highest round of fame known to earth—that of President of the United States of America; a man who, upon the field of battle, led his comrades always to victory; a man who in the Senate of the United States, when the bold enemy of this country, combined with timid allies, sought to annul the solemn findings of an honored court, stepped boldly to the front and cried loud and long: 'Hold, in your infamous efforts to place a cloud upon the reputation of a Lincoln and a Garfield.' O, it is glorious that I am here to-night. I dare not speak what I feel, but, dear friends, how I love the man

that stood by the reputation of the dead when there were but three living ones whose reputations had been assailed, and your speaker at this moment one of the living. A man who has been my friend; a man who has been the friend of humanity; a man who led the Army of the Tennessee on to Washington and there mustered it out of service; a man whose star upon his shoulder shone brighter and brighter as he moved on; that man was John A. Logan, the favorite son of Illinois; the favorite of the Mississippi Valley; the favorite of the West, and you, gentlemen, if you knew him as we know him—you of the East—would learn to love him. He is a man in a position to-day to lead on again to victory.

"Why, Mr. Chairman, I am not one of those who entertain the idea for a moment that this great Republican party is to be defeated. No! Whoever we nominate is to be the President—whoever we select. I ask you, to-night, I ask you as a friend, I ask you as one representing those who have been true to the party for twenty-eight years—one who has stood by it in all its perils—one who has never yet forsaken it at any time; I ask you—oh! I appeal to you in this convention, consider well and make the best nomination you possibly can. I ask you in behalf of the cripples of this land; I ask you in behalf of all those soldiers of this country; I ask you in behalf of men pleading to-day with this nation for

aid; I ask you in behalf of the children of this country; I ask you in behalf of humanity to give the nomination to John A. Logan of Illinois.

"When Epaminondas, at the battle of Mantinea, I believe it was at the battle of Mantinea—received his death-wound, his officer uplifted him to the heights above where he could look over the field. They cried when they perceived him. 'Oh! why do you weep?' he said to them. 'Weep not, dear friends; you are not helpless. Do I not leave you two daughters, Leuctra and Mantinea?'

"Ah, John A. Logan leaves more daughters than that. On this Western field of battle he leaves you monuments of his greatness. And to-night the people of Illinois, that love the man, ask of you to come and help us recognize the services of the brightest star in the galaxy of the volunteers of the army. I second the nomination of John A. Logan."

THE LOGAN GUARD STANDS FIRM.

Forty Illinois delegates cast their votes to put Logan's name at the head of the ticket on the first, the second, and the third ballots, but a sensation was caused in the convention when it was rumored that the Logan vote would be transferred to Blaine on the next ballot. His friends were unwilling to yield in the struggle for first place until instructed by their chief, but such instruction

had been received by Senator Cullom, in the following telegram from Washington:

"*The Hon. S. M. Cullom and Illinois Delegation, Convention Hall, Chicago, Ill.:* The Republicans of the States that must be relied upon to elect the President having so strongly shown a preference for Mr. Blaine, I deem it my duty not to stand in the way of the people's choice, and recommend my friends to assist in his nomination.

"JOHN A. LOGAN."

"This dispatch accurately represents my position," said Senator Logan, in explaining his action to a friend. "Seeing that the Republicans of the States which must elect the President had shown a decided preference to Mr. Blaine, I felt it to be my duty as a Republican not to stand in the way of the people's choice, or to pursue a dog-in-the-manger policy by remaining in the field in the hope that something might inure to my own benefit. Dispatches at the time were coming from friends of mine saying that there was a probability of a break, in which event my chances would be improved; but I deemed it wise and proper to send the dispatch which I did send at the time when I sent it. My vote was then more than sixty. Mr. Blaine needed but forty-five to nominate him. I knew that if my friends acceded to my wishes Mr. Blaine could be nominated at my request, and I was quick to get that dispatch there. I am very glad that my friends did at once transfer their strength to Mr. Blaine.

I should have been greatly disappointed if they had not. And," continued Logan, musingly, "I am glad that Blaine has got it."

NOMINATED FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.

When the roll of States was called for the nomination of candidates for Vice-President, Senator Plumb of Kansas, presented the name of Logan in the following words:

"*Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention:* This convention has already discharged two of the most serious obligations which rested upon it—the adoption of a platform and the nomination of a candidate for the Presidency. The platform is one upon which all good Republicans and all good citizens can unite, and of which they can well be proud. The candidate for the Presidency needs no eulogium from me, and I can also say for him that he can meet any man in the Democratic party, whether that man be dead or alive. Upon that statement it might seem a matter of comparative indifference as to who should fill the second place; but, Mr. President and gentlemen, there is such a thing as proportion. Having nominated a statesman of approved reputation, a man of whom we are all proud, we owe it to the party to nominate the best and most available man we have for the second place.

"Mr. President, this is the first time in the history of the Republican party since the War when the man who

is to fill the first place is not a soldier. There are a million men yet living who served their country in the late war. And now, Mr. President, twenty years after the lapse of that war they are bound together by ties as strong as they ever were while serving under arms, and the great brotherhood of the soldiers of the United States is one of the most important factors in the social and political life of the American Republic. It is due not as a matter of availability, but as a matter of just recognition to that great body of soldiery who made the Republican party possible, that a fit representative of theirs should have the second place upon the team—a man who, wise within himself, has not only the qualities of a soldier, but also the qualities of a statesman—because the American people are becoming more considerate of the second place upon the national ticket, and it is a matter of grave concern that the man to be chosen shall be fit to step into the shoes of the man in the first place.

"Mr. President, as I said, if it were only a question of electing a ticket we might nominate anybody. But it is more than that. It is not only a question of carrying and electing a President and Vice-President, but it is a question of the election of a majority of the House of Representatives in Congress. It is a question of rehabilitating States where the Legislatures have been lost, and consequently Representatives in the Senate have been

equally lost. You want especially to strengthen this ticket, if so it may be, by adding to it a man who has his representatives in all portions of this broad land, in every township, in every school district, in every Representative district, and in every county, in order that the ticket may be carried to the farthest confines of the Republic, and its remotest places, with that good-will and recognition which will make sure of a full vote.

"We have come to that point since the war when the kindly feeling growing out of association has come to be a power, and out of that kindly feeling has grown the organization of the Grand Army of the Republic, which has now in its communion more than three-fourths of the men who lately wore the blue. They are Republicans because the Republican party is true to them, to their interests, and to all those things for which they fought and sacrificed; and it is only just and proper that, in making tickets and in making platforms, we should recognize that great body of honorable and self-sacrificing men.

"Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, in presenting to you a candidate I shall present one to you who I believe fills all the qualifications necessary for even the first place upon this ticket; a man whose military and civil record will not be obscured by even so brilliant a one as that of the head of the ticket. That is the kind of a man that we want—a man tried in war and in peace, a man who has in every capacity in which he has been tried so acted that

to-day his name and fame are a part of the proud heritage of the American people. By the terms of your resolution you have abridged that which I would say, but it is enough for me to say that the man whom I present for your consideration, believing that he will add strength to the ticket, and believing that he will justify the words I have spoken, is Gen. John A. Logan of Illinois.

"His reputation is no more the property of Illinois than it is of Kansas; but there are 75,000 ex-soldiers of the late war upon the prairies of Kansas who, with one accord, when they hear of the nomination of John A. Logan, will rise up and endorse it and ratify it. I know Illinois begrudges him to the country; like Hosea Bigelow's wife, they want him for home consumption. But, Mr. President, it is a command which we have a right to lay upon them, and I know that in Illinois, with that command upon them, they will do as Gen. Logan would do himself. He obeys the duty and obligation of party, the command of the party and country; and, in fact, he never disobeyed but one order, and that was when he disobeyed an order not to fight a battle.

"Therefore, in behalf of the ex-soldiers of the Union, in behalf of the State of Kansas, by whom I am commissioned for this purpose, and in behalf generally of the great body of the Republican party of the Union who admire and esteem this man, I present his name for your consideration, and hope that he may receive the nomination at your hands."

THE NOMINATION REPEATEDLY SECONDED.

Judge Houck of Tennessee, "as a Representative of that part of the country where two Congressional Districts, the first and second of Tennessee, gave more soldiers to fight under the flag than any two other districts in the United States of America," seconded the nomination in a speech, during which he said: "The truth is, there ought not to be any other nomination. John A. Logan ought to be nominated by acclamation."

Mr. Thurston of Nebraska, demanded that "the invincible names of Blaine and Logan be inscribed upon the banner of the Republican party for this glorious campaign;" Mr. Lee of Pennsylvania, seconded "the nomination of a man for Vice-President who was fit to be President of the United States, on behalf of the great middle States;" Mr. Horr, the witty Michigan Congressman, "in behalf of that large army of us men who staid at home during the war, and at the request of the State of Michigan," declared that in selecting Logan "we will light the camp-fire among the soldiers of the country from one end of this nation to the other;" Mr. Dancy asserted that Blaine and Logan would carry North Carolina "by 5,000 majority; although the Democrats had 300 majority two years ago," and a dozen or more other delegates supported the nomination in speeches which were interspersed with calls for a vote by acclamation, until by almost an unanimous vote the rules were suspended, and Logan was pronounced the choice of the convention without a dissenting voice.

CHAPTER XVI.

LOGAN IN EARLY LIFE.

His Appearance as a Boy Conjectured from his Appearance as a Man.—No Indian Blood in his Veins.—A Lady Correspondent's Portrait of Him.—His Parents, and His Early Home in Southern Illinois.—His Father an Irishman and His Mother a Tennesseean of Scotch Descent.—Professor Thomas, of the Smithsonian Institute, Relates Incidents of Logan's Boyhood.—He goes to Mill and Waits for a Belt to be Made.—His Notice to Squirrels.—Logan's Education.—A College-Bred Man.—Logan in the Mexican War.—Still a Boy, but an Officer.—Logan as a Young Lawyer and Politician.—His Natural Eloquence.

The boy is father to the man, and perhaps it will convey a vivid impression as to what John Alexander Logan must have been as a boy to describe his appearance as a man. He is remarkable, not only for his career, but also for his physique. Tall and solidly built, he carries himself with the erectness of a soldier, and although fifty-eight years of age, his hair, which he wears long, and his prodigious mustache, are jet black. So are his eyes, which are keen and piercing, while his complexion is as swarthy as that of an Indian. Strangers visiting Washington

never require to have him "pointed out." There is no mistaking the eagle eye, raven hair, and swarthy complexion which made the soldiers of the late war call him "Black Jack" and so many white folks declare him an Indian. Purer Caucasian blood never flowed through any man's veins; his remarkable physique is the source whence all these wild stories originated. A Washington lady correspondent says of him: "Towering above the middle height, of dignified soldierly proportion, with clear-cut, classic features, he is not only one of the most distinguished, but one of the handsomest, men on the Senate floor; and the most wonderful of all in his personal appearance is the part expression lends to his countenance. His feelings and moods are mirrored there as distinctly as the seasons are stamped on the landscape."

While Logan dresses neatly, there is a certain air of negligence about the fitting and style of his coat and vest and flaring necktie, which suggests that his costume occupies little of his mind. He wears a black frock coat, a low cut vest, and black trousers which are a compromise between the extremes of fashion, and therefore always in good form without material change of model. The ample shirt-bosom displayed is always smooth and fresh, which cannot be said of all other Sen ators.

HIS PARENTS AND EARLY HOME.

"The story that he has Indian blood in his veins," says one writer, "is a myth, founded upon the color of his skin and hair, and is totally untrue, unless the fabled Kings of Ireland were related to the North American savage." Dr. John Logan, his father, was a physician and surgeon of acknowledged skill and extraordinary force of character, and belonged to an excellent family in the North of Ireland. A few years before the eldest of his eleven children was born, he came to America, and began practice as a physician near Murphysboro, the capital of Jackson county, on the Big Muddy River, in Southern Illinois, about fifteen miles east of the Mississippi river. Although his birth might have inclined him to aristocratic pretensions, he was perfectly free from such traits, and he entered into the wild life of the new country with much zest, and soon won the favor of his neighborhood, and enjoyed a large professional practice. He was known as a man of strict integrity and high morals, who was free from the dissipations so common on the frontier nearly half a century ago, and he was never heard to use an oath. Although democratic in his tastes, he yet enjoyed with peculiar satisfaction the society of persons of superior intelligence, and in his conversations with the Wesleyan Methodist ministers who stopped at his house to preach, and with the judges who frequently visited him, he was able to maintain his part in argument.

His hospitality was generous and he took delight in the exhibition to his guests of his fine grounds, horses, and hounds. He was fond of the chase, and he was generally regarded as "a foine owld Irish gentleman, one of the real owld kind." His sturdy character is indicated by an incident of his last sickness, in 1851. Suffering from an abscess of the liver, from which he died, he urged his family to bring a mirror and assist him to perform the operation upon himself by which he thought his life might be saved.

Dr. Logan married Elizabeth Jenkins, a member of a Tennessee family of Scotch descent, as his second wife, and she was a woman of extraordinary force of character, although very quiet in manner. She was tall and stately, and the erectness of her form was notable up to the time of her death, in 1877. Her distinguished son owes many of his characteristics to her, both physical and mental, and her intuitive judgment of character, and her inflexible purpose when once her resolution had been formed, are qualities which he inherited, and which have been indispensable to him in his career as a soldier and as a statesman. She was much beloved, as well as respected, and she is still remembered as "Mother Logan" by all who knew her in the home of her son during the later years of her life.

INCIDENTS OF LOGAN'S BOYHOOD.

February 9, 1826, is the date of Logan's birth, and from his infancy it was the cherished desire of his father to see this first-born of the family a physician. Although in early manhood he devoted himself to the study of medicine for a time, the sick-room was not a congenial place and his qualifications were for a different life. He was taught his first lessons at his mother's knee, and his early years were uneventful, but, Professor Thomas, the entomologist, of the Smithsonian Institute, a playmate of his boyhood and afterward the husband of one of his sisters, now deceased, narrates several incidents which, while they are amusing, also reveal the spirit of the boy as it was in later years disclosed to the world in some of the most stirring scenes of the century.

His father's farm on the Big Muddy River lay half a mile from the grist-mill, and Professor Thomas recalls that on one occasion, while yet a small boy, John was sent to mill, accompanied by one of the colored boys belonging to his father's estate, Dr. Logan by his first marriage having become possessed of a number of slaves, afterward manumitted by him. He reached the mill in a terrible rain storm, and all took shelter under the open shed which covered the machinery. This mill, like the Mexican arastra, was worked by a horse harnessed to a horizontal shaft or pole which was dragged round and round, as a capstan-bar is pushed, and revolved the mill-

stones by means of hide belting. The rain beat in furiously and the belting stretched to such an extent that it became useless, became detached from the shafting, and fell down. The boys despairing of more comfortable quarters for the night made the best of it and went to sleep, a number of the hounds which had accompanied them, at their feet. When morning broke and the miller arrived it was discovered that the half-famished dogs had scented out the rain-soaked hide belting and devoured it! The miller was in despair. He had no more belting nor could he get any. Nothing remained for him but to make it himself; and young Logan and his colored companion were obliged to wait there for three or four days while the miller killed and skinned an ox and tanned its hide for a new belting!

The incident illustrates not only young Logan's determination not to turn back until the thing he undertook was accomplished, but also the newness and the rudeness of his early surroundings.

Professor Thomas relates that when the lad was about ten years old he was commissioned by his father to stop the depredations of squirrels upon his cornfield. A road ran by the field, and on an adjacent tree it was customary to pin with wooden tacks certain public notices so that passers by might read and act accordingly. The boy had observed this, and, either because he was averse to the tedious task of watchman or because he believed

in fair play for the squirrels, as he has always believed in fair play for his fellow-men, in war and in peace, he made use of the tree for the issue of a proclamation. A neighbor riding by at a later hour, seeing a notice pinned to the tree, rode up to it and to his astonishment read the following in a large, boyish hand:

"I give notice to all the squirrels to keep out of this corn-field. If they don't keep out they will be shot.

"JOHN A. LOGAN."

The next morning he was on hand with other boys and some of the farm hands armed with shot-guns to begin the work of extermination. That corn-field was afterwards covered with the houses of Murphysboro, and a striking similarity is traced between this notice and one which Logan sent to some persons in Southern Illinois, who wrote to him both coaxing and threatening letters before the war, urging him to join the Knights of the Golden Circle. It ran thus:

"If you fellows don't keep out of the Knights of the Golden Circle, some of you will be strung up.

"JOHN A. LOGAN."

When fifteen or sixteen years of age, Professor Thomas says, young Logan took it into his head to build a flat-boat for the Muddy River, which ran near the paternal farm. The boat was duly constructed and launched. But the Muddy was at the time a rapid and dangerous stream,

and when it came to a question of who would pilot the craft all the others were afraid to venture. But, as in his subsequent life, he never hesitated to accept responsibilities, so now the fearless boy jumped aboard and steered her out in safety.

LOGAN'S EDUCATION.

"I never could understand," says one who knows Logan well, "why the newspapers should bring up Logan's bad grammar! He speaks with as much polish, and with more force than the most of us; but the correspondents must fill their columns with something, and this kind of spicy badinage seems least harmfull of all."

It is true that he obtained his first instruction in books from his father and mother at home, and that the advantages afforded in the log-school lesson where he was a pupil for a limited time were very imperfect, but John A. Logan is a man of extensive information, and has thoroughly mastered several languages, and many of the greatest works of literature. Says the New York *Tribune:* "General Logan fought his own way bravely through college with what help a hard-working doctor in a pioneer country could give his several sons; was graduated honorably, studied law awhile with his uncle, and then was graduated from the regular law school. Perhaps his English may sometimes betray traces of the pioneer habits of a third of a century ago in Southern Illinois.

He speaks the French and Spanish languages, is an enthusiast in Shakespeare, of which he can repeat whole plays by heart. He has been known among his brother Senators to correct a Harvard graduate in Latin pronunciation, and a Williams graduate in Shakespearean quotation, and his familiar acquaintance with modern tongues is reported to have stood in the breach where other Senators faltered and fell."

Major Ben. Perley Poore, the noted Washington correspondent, when asked if Logan murders the King's English replied: "No! his language compares favorably with that of other Senators in debate." When seventeen or eighteen years old Logan became a student in Shiloh Academy, under the jurisdiction of the Methodist Church, and he remained until he entered the Mexican war nearly three years later. He is a graduate of the Louisville Law School, where he attended lectures after his return from Mexico, taking his diploma in 1851.

IN THE MEXICAN WAR.

Logan's experience in the Mexican war belongs to the period of his youth, as he was only twenty years of age when he left college to become a soldier. The annexation of Texas caused an immediate rupture with Mexico, and President Herrera of that Republic, on June 4, 1846, issued a proclamation that Mexico's right to Texan territory would be defended by arms. In July, President

Polk ordered General Zachary Taylor to take a position as near the Rio Grande as prudence would allow, and soon after the struggle began, which did not end until General Scott marched into the city of Mexico and proclaimed the conquest of the Mexican Republic, in 1848.

Logan entered the army as a lieutenant of company H, First Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and served his country in Mexico with distinction from the beginning to the end of the war. He attained the position of acting-quartermaster of the regiment before he returned to Illinois, a youth who had barely reached his majority.

LOGAN AS A YOUNG LAWYER AND POLITICIAN.

Returning to Murphysboro after the war, in the autumn of 1848, Logan began to study law in the office of his uncle, Alexander M. Jenkins, who was a great man in Southern Illinois, a Jacksonian Democrat, and at one time Lieutenant-Governor of his State.

It was the love of contest that took him at once into politics, and soon he was elected Clerk of Jackson County. By means of the revenues of this office he was enabled to carry on his law studies and took a course of lectures at Louisville University.

Receiving his diploma in 1851, he was admitted to the Bar, formed a partnership with his uncle, and before he had been a year in practice he was elected Prosecuting Attorney of the Third Judicial District of the State.

He then lived in the town of Benton, where he began the experience of a married man in 1855. While a beginner in the pursuit of rogues in court there occurred, in a wholly different direction, an instance of his personal courage which was much talked of and made him many friends. The farmers of southern Illinois had been troubled by incursions of a desperate gang of horse-thieves from the swamps of southeastern Missouri. A number of horses had recently been stolen, but the sufferers held the gang in terror and were afraid to follow and attempt the recovery of their property. Young Logan heard about the outrage, and taking two men with him followed the outlaws into the swamps of Missouri, and soon returned with his neighbors' horses. Acute rheumatism, from which he still suffers at times, seized him as he was returning, sixteen miles from home; but he had accomplished his mission.

Logan was reëlected to the State Legislature in 1853, 1856, and 1857, and in 1856 was a Presidential Elector on the Buchanan and Breckenridge ticket. At this point he began his career as a stump orator, and his speeches were considered remarkable examples of eloquence, giving him a reputation that sent him to Congress in 1856.

CHAPTER XVII.

LOGAN IN THE WAR FOR THE UNION.

How He Gained the Title of "Black Jack."—Was He a Secession Sympathizer at the Outset?—His Own and the Record's Answer.—The Confession of Confederates Exonerates Him.—The Story of Bull Run, and Logan's glorious Beginning in the War for the Union.—Resigning to Raise a Regiment.—Grant and Logan at Cairo, March to their Illustrious Careers as Officers in the Greatest of Modern Struggles.—The Task of "Purging Missouri."—The Battle of Belmont.—Logan's Regiment Under Fire for the First Time.—His Horse Killed under Him, and His Pistol Shattered at His Side.—Praise for His Bravery.

Why is Logan called "Black Jack," is a question which is often asked, and an answer may as well be placed at the beginning of the sketch of his career in the war to save the Union. "Black Jack" is simply a soldier's term of endearment, like "Fighting Joe," as applied to Hooker, and "Old Pap Thomas," as applied to General George H. Thomas. General Nelson, who was heartily hated by his men before their first battle, was called in hatred "Bull Nelson," but after they had once fought under him and discovered how his hard

training and drilling had made veterans of them before they had smelled burning powder, they expressed their love for him by calling him "Bully Old Nelson." Logan is very dark of complexion, and this fact, of course, gives the color to his nickname.

DID HE SYMPATHIZE WITH SECESSION AT THE START?

An important matter which it is well to have made plain at the beginning of the sketch of this famous soldier, relates to his attitude during the commotion which filled the country just before the outbreak of the War of the Rebellion. Did Logan think of joining the Southern army?

It would not have been strange if he had wavered between the North and South. Geographically, he was as near the South as the North, and politically and socially his surroundings were such as to make a different choice than the one he made, not unnatural. "Egypt," as Southern Illinois was called, contained a population whose instincts were chiefly Southern, and doubtless the heroic service of Logan to the Union cause was one of the greatest restraints to hold its people back from a union with the Rebels. His enthusiasm awakened the loyalty that was sleeping, and the story of his bravery in the first battles of the war, was like a flaming torch in that benighted land, causing a burst of fiery zeal among those who had only secretly

wished to have the Union saved, and causing to seek deeper shades of darkness those in whose hearts there lurked the treasonable purpose which delighted in the thought of the destruction of the Republic.

Logan had Southern affiliations in his own family, as well as among his friends and neighbors; and kindred whom he loved avowed their preferences for an alliance of the Logans of Southern Illinois with the seceding States.

BOYNTON ON LOGAN'S POSITION.

Says General Boynton, in regard to this matter: "The roll of honor of the Union armies does not contain a name worthy to stand above his as the best type of the volunteer officer through all the grades up to the commander of an army in battle. Before he was of age, he was a soldier in Mexico. He was a Democratic Congressman from the most benighted political section of Illinois when Sumter was fired upon. He was a good-enough Republican to be a fighting officer for the Union, and a very stubborn one, too, at the battle of Bull Run. A good many who wink now as they ask with a knowing air whether Logan did not once contemplate joining the Southern Confederacy had not themselves, at that date, adopted the doctrine of coercion. Suppose Logan did at first consider such a step? There were scores of men, whose prominence in the party is not now questioned, who were proposing peace

conferences or serving on peace committees after Logan had enlisted as a Union soldier. He never turned his face toward the Confederacy — except in battle. But if he had, in the early unsettled days, Republicans, in view of his magnificent service from the hour the first Rebel gun was fired, can give him full and effective defense against all questioners."

LOGAN SPEAKS FOR HIMSELF.

But that Logan was zealous in the service of the country from the very beginning of the conflict, appears from a very bold declaration of his course and defiance of his foes, which he pronounced upon the floor of Congress after the war was over, as well as from his assertion while a Democrat on the stump for Stephen A. Douglas, that he would take up arms, if necessary, to secure the inauguration of Abraham Lincoln, should the result of the campaign of 1860 be a Republican victory.

Although he had proved his courage and loyalty by his blood and by his services on many a battle-field, the assailants of his patriotism — his daring bravery no one had the hardihood to question — goaded him to the following utterance in the Senate, on March 23, 1881:

"Mr. President, I have taken but slight notice of slanders touching my action in any case. But, sir, since the year 1866, my enemies have so persistently pursued me with falsehoods touching my action in 1861,

that I now feel it to be my duty to place on record the facts, that those who come after me may know the truth as it was and is. . . . During the early part of the year 1861, when secession was rampant in the city and in the halls of Congress, and while I had an opportunity of showing where my sympathies were, whether with the Union or not, Mr. Adrian of New Jersey proposed the following Resolution in the House of Representatives: '*Resolved*, That we fully approve of the bold and patriotic act of Major Anderson in withdrawing from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter, and of the determination of the President to maintain that fearless officer in his present position; and that we will support the President in all constitutional measures to enforce the laws and preserve the Union.'"

Upon this resolution Mr. Logan voted "yea" and added that "it received his unqualified support." This he reasserted in the speech of March 23d, and no one was bold enough to dispute the assertion as not being truth. And he did more. He proved by the most unanswerable testimony that every word breathed against his patriotic standing was false to the very core. He brought forward the statements of his Democratic opponents to give emphasis to his loyalty of thought, deed, and purpose; produced the unsolicited letters of Senators J. Q. C. Lamar and J. L. Pugh; demolished the fictions of his traducers by hundreds of letters and affidavits, and

in the end did not leave the base lie a foot to stand upon.

THE ONLY MAN WHO DARED FACE HIM WITH THE LIE.

The only man that ever dared insinuate to his face that he was a sympathizer of secession, was Senator Ben Hill of Georgia, in the United States Senate Chamber, March 30, 1881, and Logan at once replied: "Any man who insinuates that I sympathized with it at that time, insinuates what is false," and Senator Hill at once retracted the calumny.

Subsequently, April 19, 1881, a part of the press having in the meantime insinuated further doubts, Senator Logan proved by the record and by documentary evidence the falsity of the aspersion. That record shows that January 7, 1861 — while still a Douglas Democrat, before Lincoln's inauguration and before even the first gun of the war was fired upon Fort Sumter — he declared in Congress, as he voted for a resolution which approved the action taken by the President in support of the laws and for the preservation of the Union, that the resolution received his "unqualified approbation." Prior to that (Dec. 17, 1860), he had voted affirmatively on a resolution offered by Morris of Illinois, which declared an "immovable attachment" to "our National Union," and "that it is our patriotic duty to stand by it, as our hope in peace and our

defense in war." In a speech he made February 5, 1861, on the "Crittenden Compromise," he declared that "he had always denied, and did yet deny, the right of secession."

THE CONFESSION OF A BOURBON.

When Logan concluded his speech of vindication in the Senate, even the Bourbon Senator, Brown of Georgia, declared it to be "full, complete, and conclusive." In future, then, no truthful man will dare to say that Logan was not true to the Union and opposed to secession "before the war, at the beginning of the war, and all through the war." In 1860 and 1861, he was the most popular man in Southern Illinois, and undoubtedly did more than any other man to create and foster the spirit of loyalty in what had been called "Egypt." He threw himself heart and soul into the ranks of the Union, and produced a sensation by his public declaration that "if forcible resistance was made to the inauguration of President Lincoln, he would shoulder his musket and aid in the consummation of the people's will." The effect of his example at that critical time, as well as afterwards, was felt not alone in his own State, but in Indiana and other adjacent States. As has been well said, "His eloquence gave courage in the hour of fear, and kindled fires of devout patriotism when the embers were growing weak and low."

A REFUTATION FOR LOGAN'S FRIENDS TO USE.

This somewhat extended refutation of a calumny will not be without value to admirers of Logan who may wish to silence slander during the fierce conflict of a political campaign. There may be some who, from selfish motives or the jealousy that is "cruel as the grave," will desire to keep the foul story afloat. In reply to such, what is here written should be presented for the sake of the man; for the sake of those with whom he associated; for the sake of his country and for the sake of those dearer to him than all save an unsullied name in private life, in camp, upon the battle-field, and as one of the representatives of a great nation.

"To such men," says one of Logan's friends, "private credit is wealth, public honor is security; the feather that adorns the royal bird supports its flight; strip him of his plumage, and you fix him to the earth. Indeed, to one whose aim of life has been to stand before the world as the hero of Marignano, Aquadello, and Battle of the Spurs '*sans peur et sans reproche*'—it is his all."

THE STORY OF BULL RUN.

The first battle of Bull Run, fought on July 21, 1861, was the first in which Logan bore arms to subdue the rebellion, and its story is inseparably connected with his brilliant career in the Union army. Fort Sumter

fell on April 14, 1861, the battle of Big Bethel was fought in Virginia on June 10th; the battle of Booneville followed in Missouri during the same month; the battle of Carthage was fought on the soil of Missouri on July 6th, and the battle of Rich Mountain was fought in Virginia on July 10th, so that the first battle of Bull Run was the sixth battle of the war, and great hopes rested upon the Union arms engaged in that terrible struggle.

The gathering of Confederate troops at Manassas Junction imperiled Washington, for while Beauregard was there in command of the main army, General Johnston was at Winchester, in the Shenandoah Valley, with a large force which could be readily summoned to reinforce a movement for the capture of the Capitol city.

General Irwin McDowell, who commanded the Department of Virginia, had his headquarters at "Arlington House," while General Patterson was at Martinsburg with 18,000 Federal troops to hold Johnston in check at Winchester. About the midddle of July, McDowell received orders to move on the Confederates, and with 20,000 troops he marched from Arlington Heights on July 16th, his purpose being to flank the Confederate right wing. Two days later, General Tyler was repulsed by the enemy at Blackburn's Ford, and McDowell, finding that he could not flank the Confederates, resolved

to make a direct attack, having no fear that Patterson would not be able to keep Johnston in the Shenandoah Valley.

On the morning of battle, McDowell's army set forth in three columns, one under General Tyler to make a feigned attack, and the other two under Generals Hunter and Heintzelman to take a wide circuit to the left, cross Bull Run at different points, and make a real attack upon Beauregard's left wing, while Tyler was engaging its attention.

But news of the Federal plan had reached the government at Richmond, and at noon of the preceding day, Johnston had started from Winchester with 6,000 fresh troops to support the main Confederate army. The fighting began when Hunter and Heintzelman crossed Bull Run, about noon, and three hours later, General Johnston, who had assumed chief command upon his arrival upon the field, was looking anxiously toward Manassas Gap, exclaiming, "Oh, for four regiments!"

They came, and from the approaching cloud of dust, General E. Kirby Smith soon rode forth with 4,000 fresh Confederate soldiers to turn the tide of battle just as a victory for the Union seemed almost assured. The flight of the Federal troops, leaving 3,000 of dead, wounded, and captured behind them, was a panic which sent dismay through the North and delight through the

South, and the disaster must have prolonged the war for years; if Johnston had been aware of his opportunity, it would have given the Confederate army immediate possession of the Capitol.

LOGAN'S GLORIOUS BEGINNING.

It was in and immediately after this disastrous struggle that John A. Logan performed such service, that his fame as a defender of the Union can be traced to the first great battle of the war, both as a soldier and as a Congressman. He had moved to the front with Colonel Richardson's regiment of Michigan volunteers, and, seizing a musket and taking his place in the ranks as a private, he exhibited great bravery during the contest at Bull Run. When he returned to Congress after that battle, he urged upon the government the necessity of raising a sufficient force to put down the Rebels in arms.

The nation was for a time almost paralyzed by the blow of July 21st, and Europe was beginning to talk about the ruin of the American Republic, but the influence of Logan, whose bravery had done so much to check the panic of his comrades in the retreat from Bull Run, and of others like him, soon restored confidence, and before the adjournment of Congress in August, volunteers had hastened to the support of the "Stars and Stripes" by thousands, and the people were

resolved to wage a war which promised to be long and desperate

RESIGNS TO RAISE A REGIMENT.

Logan retained his seat in Congress after his return from the battle of Bull Run until the adjournment in the following month, and his urgent appeals for prompt and vigorous action to crush the Rebellion, were the more effective because of his participation in the bloody struggle of July 21st. At the end of the session, however, he resigned his position as a member of the House of Representatives, and returned to Illinois to raise a regiment, avowing his purpose to enter the war for the Union and remain in it till the end.

By a series of stirring and patriotic appeals in the southern part of the State, he rallied thousands of volunteers, and himself joined the Thirty-first Regiment of Illinois Infantry. He was elected Colonel, and the regiment was mustered into service on September 13th. His prestige as a dashing young officer in the Mexican War, and his part in the battle of Bull Run, gave him an enthusiastic following when he returned to his State, and although there were many disloyal inhabitants in "Egypt," he was ready to take the field at the head of a regiment of 973 men within a month from his return home from Washington. The speeches he delivered, and the volunteers he secured during that

month accomplished a great revolution of public sentiment in a large part of southern Illinois.

The record of a State that, when the second call for three hundred thousand soldiers was issued filled her quota within thirteen days, notwithstanding she had to her credit sixteen thousand nine hundred and seventy-eight men in excess of former demands, may suggest that to raise a regiment in less than a month was not a difficult performance in Illinois, but all who are familiar with the political condition of southern Illinois at the beginning of the war will readily assent to the declaration that no other man could have done what Logan did during the month following the adjournment of Congress in the summer of 1861.

HOW HE WON HIS PEOPLE.

Resolutions favoring secession had already been adopted by his constituents. Almost every friend he had, save his patriotic wife, was arrayed against him. He had been the pride and the idol of his people, but now they spurned him and persecution and abuse followed him everywhere. Threats of personal violence were made. There are persons now living who will never forget the wonderful influence of Logan over men at that stormy time when, mounting a wagon in the public square at Marion, Williamson County—which was his place of residence—he addressed a vast multi-

tude of people who, strongly sympathizing with the South, were little less than a howling mob. When Logan began to speak it was with difficulty that he could gain a hearing, but before he had finished the vivid picture he painted of the inevitable consequences of treason and disunion, they stood absolutely spell-bound, and many were even ready to enlist in defense of that very flag which, but a few moments before, they would have stamped upon. And when he closed and told them he was going to enlist for the war ("as a private—or in any capacity in which he could serve his country best in defending the old blood-stained flag over every foot of soil in the United States") they swarmed about him and sent up such a shout as has rarely been heard. A friend and fellow-comrade of Logan's in the Mexican War, having, in the meantime, hurriedly hunted up an old fifer and drummer, was the first to shout: "Come on, boys! Let's go with Logan. Where he leads we can follow!" Suiting action to the words, the fife and drum struck up the familiar tune of "Yankee Doodle," and before they had marched half way around the square one hundred gallant fellows were in line "keeping step to the music of the Union." Each pledged to serve his country for three years, unless sooner discharged by peace being declared.

The midnight traveling and daily speaking and enlisting of soldiers for the war, during the ensuing ten

days, can hardly be described. The conversion of an entire people from sympathy for the South into patriotic soldiers ready to fight, was little short of miraculous.

GRANT AND LOGAN AT CAIRO.

Like General Grant, Logan was a soldier in the Mexican War, and like Grant he began his career as an officer in the war for the Union at Cairo, where the Thirty-first Illinois Infantry was stationed immediately after it was mustered into the service. The coincidences are noteworthy because of the steadfast friendship between the two officers which existed throughout all the years of the war and has remained unbroken until this day.

Grant was living in St. Louis just before the war, and he was one of the first of the West Point graduates in private life to offer his services to the government. He was made the Colonel of an Illinois regiment, and in May, 1861, he was promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General and assigned to the command of Cairo.

Although a small village at that time, Cairo was a point of great importance because of its position at the junction of the Mississippi and Ohio rivers, on the southern extremity of Illinois, and only 175 miles below St. Louis. The Confederates had determined to secure and hold the town, and both the Federal Government and Governor Yates had information as to the scheme

of the rebels to obtain control of the water-ways to the great cities of St. Louis and Cincinnati. Acting under instructions from the Secretary of War, Governor Yates dispatched Illinois troops to thwart the Confederate schemes, and General B. M. Prentiss, who seconded the nomination of Senator Logan in the recent Chicago Convention, was in command of a force of 5,000 men when Grant arrived, in May, to assume the position of commander of the post—then called Camp Defiance.

GRANT AND LOGAN HELP "PURGE MISSOURI."

"I have purged Missouri," wrote General Halleck to the Government in February, 1862, and to assist in that work was the first task of both Grant and Logan when they marched from Cairo for action in the field. Missouri had the misfortune to have Claiborne F. Jackson for Governor at the beginning of the war. An ally of secession and an enemy of the Union that he was, he nevertheless took the oath as Governor on January 4, 1861, and in his message to the Legislature he recommended that Missouri stand with her sister States of the South, and advised that a convention be called to consider the course to be taken. The convention was held, but the Legislature refused to give it authority to decide the course of Missouri without a vote of the people.

The popular vote was strongly in favor of the Union,

but Governor Jackson was determined to carry the State over to the Confederacy, and during the excitement which followed the capture of Southern troops in St. Louis he inaugurated civil war in Missouri by calling out 50,000 militia, and ordering two important railway bridges between St. Louis and Jefferson City to be burned and the telegraph wires to be cut. He visited Richmond secretly, and while he was in conference with the Confederate government, Lieutenant-Governor Reynolds, "in the temporary absence of Governor Jackson," declared the absolute severance of Missouri from the Union. "Disregarding forms," he said, "and looking to realities, I view any ordinance for the separation from the North and union with the Confederate States as a mere outward ceremony, to give notice to others of an act already consummated in the hearts of the people; consequently, no authority of the United States will hereafter be permitted in Missouri."

To break the power of the enemies of the Union in Missouri was the work to which Grant and Logan were both assigned when they departed from camp at Cairo.

HIS REGIMENT UNDER FIRE FOR THE FIRST TIME.

It was only seven weeks after they were mustered into the service that his men were under fire for the first time. General Fremont wrote to the government in Washington, early in October, when his army was 30,000 strong:

"My plan is, New Orleans straight; I could precipitate the war forward, and end it soon victoriously." Before his career was suddenly checked, soon after, he ordered Grant to move a force along the Mississippi river to co-operate with his own army, and the movement was promptly effected. A column of about 3,000 troops, mostly Illinois Volunteers, was sent forward under command of General John A. McClernand, and landed about three miles above Belmont. Grant accompanied McClernand, and Logan was in the column, at the head of the Thirty-first Illinois Infantry.

A STORY OF THE BELMONT BATTLE.

A member of Logan's old regiment tells a little story of the Belmont attack and victory, which illustrates Logan's dash and energy. Said he: "We embarked at Cairo on transports and landed secretly a few miles above Belmont. The rebels were in force at Columbus and at Belmont, nearly opposite Columbus. We swooped down on the Belmont outfit, and, after a sharp fight, cleaned out the town. In those days, the early part of the war, whenever a body of Union troops had a fight and won it, it was thought to be the thing to have a great blow-out, speeches and bonfires and music and all that. The Belmont victory was no exception. We had a great time that night. General McClernand made a roaring speech, and so did Logan, I believe. We had great bonfires and extra supper and all the bands out, and kept it up till

GEN. LOGAN AT THE BATTLE OF BELMONT.—HIS NARROW ESCAPE.—DEATH OF HIS HORSE BY A BURSTING SHELL.

pretty near daylight. Then it was found that during the night, while we were celebrating, the rebels had landed a big force from Columbus to our side of the river, and cut us off completely from our transports. We were dazed at this, and in a mighty tight place. Logan was the first to realize it, and, after some discussion, he got permission from General McClernand to try to cut his way through the rebel cordon and open the road to the transports.

LOGAN'S NARROW ESCAPE AND THE DEATH OF HIS HORSE.

The bayonet charge which followed was one of the most gallant feats of the war, and volunteer troops could not have performed it without a leader of Logan's magnetic courage. The way back to the transports was fought as fiercely as their way into Belmont had been, and Logan had a narrow escape from death, a bursting shell killing his horse under him, and shattering a pistol at his side. General Grant had a horse shot under him during the attack upon Belmont, and General McClernand sat upon two horses when they were struck down by bullets from the enemy. In his report to General Grant, McClernand spoke in high terms of the conduct of Logan, who, when under the most galling and deadly fire, exhibited the same intrepidity and judgment which distinguished him in all his subsequent career, and which with his thoughtful care for their comfort and safety, made him the ideal of the troops under his command.

CHAPTER XVIII.

LOGAN AT DONELSON AND BEFORE CORINTH.

He Returns to Cairo from Belmont and goes to Washington to ask Comforts for his Men.—He Helps Win the Decisive Victory at Fort Henry, and Rout the Confederates in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri.—The Army and the Country cry, "On to Donelson."—Grant Plans the Attack and Waits for Foote to Bring the Mortar-Boats into the Cumberland from Cairo to Bombard the Fort.—The Confederates Attempt to Cut a Way out and Escape toward Nashville.—Logan Prevents a Panic and is Carried Bleeding from the Field.—Grant Makes him a Brigadier-General.—The Siege of Corinth.—An Interesting Report in Logan's Own Words.—Sherman's Praise.

Logan returned to Cairo after the enemy had been compelled to abandon Belmont, and while in Camp Defiance the discomforts of the raw troops were very great, and much harder to bear than the greater hardships which they subsequently endured as veterans. They had left their homes and comfortable surroundings quite unprepared for the life of soldiers. Their equipage was poor, as neither quartermasters nor purveyors had learned how to properly prepare for the needs of troops. Colonel Logan, with that solicitude for the well-being of his

men which always distinguished him, finally went to Washington and arranged for arms and clothing suitable for his command, although, owing to the confusion incident to the hurried preparations for war, it was almost impossible to obtain supplies of any kind.

The battle of Fort Henry was the first decisive victory of Union troops upon Western waters, and Logan led his regiment in that struggle. The fort stood at a bend of the Tennessee river, where that stream approaches the Cumberland river until there is not more than a dozen miles between them, and the Confederates had placed it at the right bank of the river, on a high hill opposite Fort Hieman. At the beginning of February, 1862, a land force commanded by General Grant, and a flotilla commanded by Commodore Foote, were sent to capture the two forts, and the expedition appeared about two miles below Fort Henry on February 3d. The fort contained seventeen heavy guns, a dozen of which swept the river.

Commodore Foote placed four of his iron-clads in position for a bombardment, while two unarmored vessels were used to fish up torpedoes which the enemy had strewn upon the bed of the river. The garrison of Fort Hieman fled at the approach of troops sent to silence their guns, and with about 3,000 troops outside they hastened to Fort Donelson, on the Cumberland river, twelve miles away. The bombardment of Fort Henry began on Feb-

ruary 6th, and it had proceeded only an hour when the garrison became panic-stricken.

The Federal troops entered the fort to find that less than one hundred Confederates remained to surrender, so quick had been the flight towards Donelson. Grant had not arrived when the flag of the Union was hoisted over the scene, and the victory had been won at a cost of only two killed and thirty-eight wounded. Twenty-nine of the latter had been injured by the escape of scalding steam from one of the boilers which had been pierced by a thirty-two pound shell.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE VICTORY.

The fall of Fort Henry and Fort Hieman encouraged the hope of the North that the Confederate cause would soon be ruined in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri. When Halleck received the intelligence he telegraphed to McClellan: "Fort Henry is ours! The flag of the Union is re-established on the soil of Tennessee. It will never be removed." The Union soldiers were in the rear of the enemy centered at Columbus, Kentucky, and their commanders perceived that if a victory could be achieved on the Cumberland like that which had been won on the Tennessee, Beauregard would be compelled to retreat from the ground he then occupied.

The Secretary of the Navy wrote to Commodore Foote: "The country appreciates your gallant deeds,

and this department desires to convey to you and your brave associates its profound thanks for the service you have rendered."

"ON TO DONELSON" THE CRY.

The enthusiasm awakened by the victory at Fort Henry undoubtedly contributed much to the success of the Union arms in the struggle of the following fortnight. It was seen that Fort Donelson was the only obstacle to the rout of the Confederates at Columbus under Beauregard, and the cry "On to Donelson" was everywhere heard, among officers and among men in the ranks. Foote had sent three vessels to reconnoiter the borders of the Tennessee after the fall of Fort Henry had opened that river to the very heart of the Confederacy, and the report of the expedition, representing that loyalty was not dead although suppressed by a mailed hand, resulted in a decision to make an immediate attack.

Fort Donelson stood upon the high right bank of the Cumberland river, at Dover, the seat of Stewart County, Tennessee, and it covered about one hundred acres upon hills furrowed by ravines. General Grant planned the movement, organizing the army into three divisions, commanded by Generals McClernand, Smith, and Lew Wallace, and directing Foote to return to Cairo to bring his mortar boats around into the Cumberland river to

assist in the attack. The march of the Union cavalry, infantry, and artillery, across the country to Fort Donelson, was performed in one of the fiercest storms of a severe winter, but no complaint was heard from the men.

The movement of the troops began on the morning of February 12th, and on the evening of the same day Fort Donelson was invested. General Pillow was in command of the Fort, but General Floyd arrived from Virginia on the following day and superseded him. Grant thought it inexpedient to begin the attack before the arrival of the flotilla, and although the weather was severely cold, the Federal troops, who had bivouacked without tents in a drenching rain on the night of the 12th, patiently waited for orders, suffering severely because they were not permitted to keep their fires burning at night, lest they should draw the attack of the enemy's guns.

About noon of the 14th the war vessels had arrived and at 3 o'clock the bombardment began, both armored vessels in the front line and the unarmored vessels in a second line participating in the attack. Fifty-four men were killed and more than one hundred were wounded before the fleet withdrew, and Foote then returned to Cairo for repairs and reinforcements.

It was Grant's purpose to await Foote's re-appearance, but he was not permitted to wait. In a council of war on the night of the 14th the Confederates had resolved

to drive the Federal force from the field or cut a way out and escape in the direction of Nashville, and at 5 o'clock of the 16th the assault was made. About 10,000 men under the command of Pillow and Bushrod Johnson began the assault, and a quick, furious, and heavy onslaught was made on McClernand's division, which occupied the heights extending along the river. The first shock fell upon Oglesby's brigade, but the men stood firm until their ammunition began to fail, when they gave way under the terrific pressure, except the extreme left, held by Colonel Logan and the Illinois Thirty-first. Upheld by their heroic commander, Logan's men stood like a wall before the enemy, and to their fidelity the army owed deliverance from a panic and rout perhaps as disastrous as the first Bull Run.

The conflict was fierce throughout the forenoon, but later in the day the Confederates retired to the fort, and before the next morning Floyd had turned over the command to Buckner and fled up the river, and Pillow had departed for his home in Tennessee.

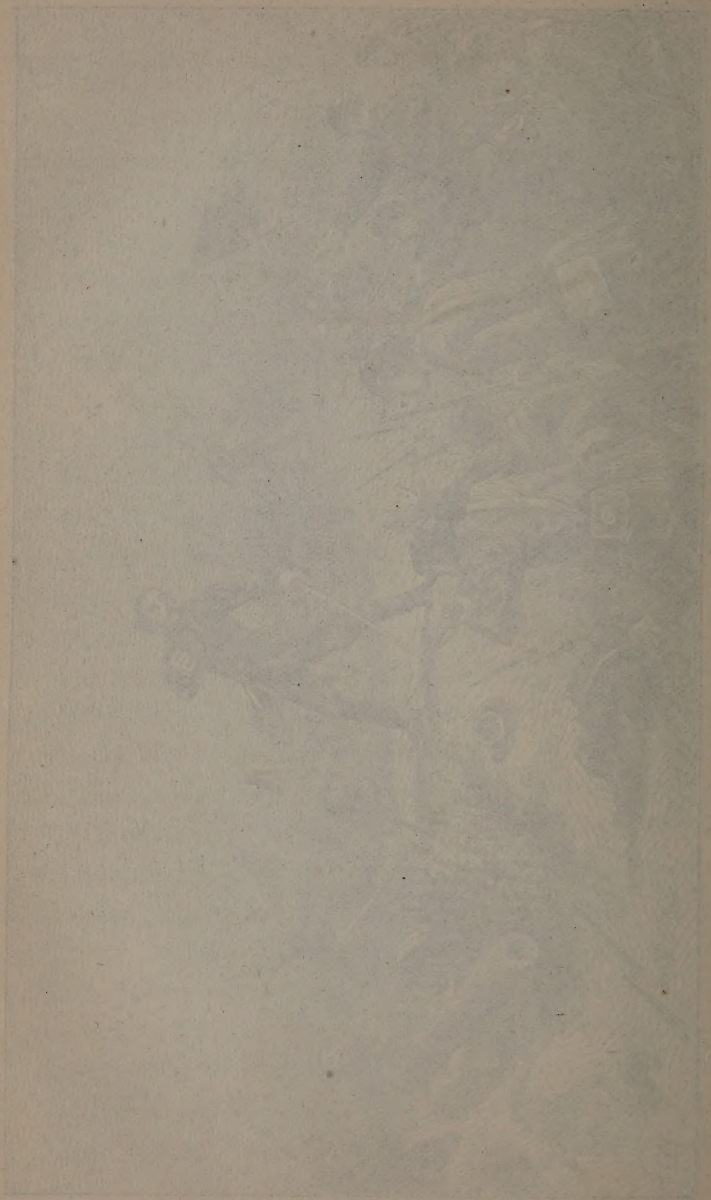
CARRIED BLEEDING FROM THE FIELD.

Logan was severely wounded in his shoulder during the battle, but he rallied his men and held them in position until, exhausted from loss of blood, he was carried from the field. Of the 606 men he led into the struggle only 303 answered to their names the next morning.

General McClernand, commanding the First Division, highly praised Colonel Logan's conduct, in his official report of Fort Donelson, saying: "Schwartz's battery, being left unsupported by the retirement of the 29th, the 31st boldly rushed to its defense, and at the same moment received the combined attack of the forces on the right and of others in front, supposed to have been led by General Buckner. The danger was imminent, and calling for a change of disposition adapted to meet it, which Colonel Logan made by forming the right wing of his battalion at an angle with the left. In this order he supported the battery, which continued to play upon the enemy and held him in check until his regiment's supply of ammunition was entirely exhausted."

The report of Colonel Oglesby, commanding the First Brigade, says: "Turning to the 31st, which yet held its place in line, I ordered Colonel Logan to throw back his right, so as to form a crochet on the right of the 11th Illinois. In this way Colonel Logan held in check the advancing foe for some time, under the most destructive fire, whilst I endeavored to assist Colonel Cruft with his brigade in finding a position on the right of the 31st. It was now four hours since fighting began in the morning. The cartridge-boxes of the 31st were nearly empty. The Colonel had been severely wounded and the Lieutenant-Colonel, John H. White, had, with some thirty others, fallen dead on the field, and a large

WOUNDED WHILE LEADING THE ATTACK ON FORT DONELSON.



number were wounded. In this condition Colonel Logan brought off the remainder of his regiment in good order."

Says another writer: "The annals of the war speak of General Logan as being where danger was the greatest and the blows of death the thickest and most heavy, and no name is inscribed more brightly upon the roll of honor of Donelson."

GRANT MAKES LOGAN A BRIGADIER-GENERAL.

The following letter indicates the opinion of General Grant as to the conduct of Logan in the battle before Fort Donelson:

"HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT WEST TENNESSEE,
"FORT HENRY, March 14, 1862.

"Hon. E. M. STANTON,
"*Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.:*

"I have been waiting for reports of sub-commanders at the battle of Fort Donelson to make some recommendations of officers for advancement for meritorious services. These reports are not yet in, and as the troops under my command are actively engaged, may not be for some time. I therefore take this occasion to make some recommendations of officers who in my opinion should not be neglected. I would particularly mention the names of Colonel J. D. Webster, First Illinois Artillery; Morgan L. Smith, Eighth Missouri Volun-

teers; W. H. L. Wallace, Eleventh Illinois Volunteers; and John A. Logan, Thirty-first Illinois Volunteers. The two former are old soldiers and men of decided merit. The two latter are from civil pursuits, but I have no hesitation in fully indorsing them as in every way qualified for the position of brigadier-general, and think they have fully earned the position on the field of battle. There are others who may be equally meritorious, but I do not happen to know so well their services.

"U. S. GRANT,
"Major-General."

Colonel Logan was accordingly promoted to be a brigadier-general of volunteers. For some time he was confined by his wound to his bed; but so impatient was he to return to his command that with his wound still unhealed he started for the front, and reached it on the evening of the Battle of Shiloh, April 7, 1862, just too late to participate in the engagement, much to his disappointment.

IN COMMAND OF A BRIGADE.

As Brigadier-General, Logan was assigned to the command of the First Brigade, third division of the Seventeenth Army Corps, and took a distinguished part in the movement against Corinth. Grant had yielded the command at the battle of Shiloh to Halleck, then his superior in rank, upon the arrival of the latter from St. Louis,

and it was his purpose to pursue Beauregard in his retreat, striking a blow while the enemy was weak, but he was restrained by Halleck, much to the disappointment of Logan, who thought that Corinth might have been captured, instead of being merely occupied after the enemy had fled.

LOGAN'S STORY OF THE SIEGE OF CORINTH.

A report of the siege of Corinth, made by Logan himself, possesses peculiar interest, not only because it presents a vivid description of the movement, but also because it exhibits the weighty responsibilities devolving upon the commander of a brigade who, less than a year before, was carrying a musket as a private in the first battle of Bull Run. The report is as follows:

"*Report of Brig.-Gen. John A. Logan, U. S. Army, commanding First Division, of operations from April 19th to May 29th.*

"HDQRS., 1ST DIV. RES. CORPS,
"ARMY OF THE TENNESSEE,
"BETHEL, TENN., June —, 1862.

"I have the honor to submit the following report of the operations of the different arms of the First Division since my connection with it, in pursuance of a request from your headquarters of date June 11, 1862:

"I was assigned to and took command of the First

Brigade, consisting of the Eighth Illinois Infantry, Col. F. L. Rhoads; Eighteenth Illinois Infantry, Col. M. K. Lawler; Thirtieth Illinois Infantry, Col. E. S. Dennis; Thirty-first Illinois Infantry, Col. L. Ozburn, and Twelfth Michigan Infantry, Col. F. Quinn, on the 19th day of April, 1862, by General Field Orders, No. 402, from your headquarters, and occupied Camp No. 1, which may be designated as General Oglesby's old camp, one mile north of Shiloh Church, one-quarter of a mile from your headquarters, on the Corinth and Pittsburg Landing road, and two miles from said Landing.

"On the 23d day of April I received marching orders, dated from your headquarters, to be ready at eight A. M., April 24, to move forward, taking all camp and garrison equipage. After constructing a road across a branch of Owl Creek I advanced my brigade, as ordered, about two miles, taking position about three degrees north of a direct westerly line, with my right resting on a bluff overlooking Owl Creek. This camp was, by special order from your headquarters, designated as Camp Stanton. We here constructed the first field fortifications, consisting of enfilading rifle-pits and lunettes.

"On the 25th day of April Colonel Lawler was ordered to take six regiments, three companies of cavalry, and one section of artillery, and make a reconnaissance in front of and to the left of our position in the direction of Monterey. I also instructed Colonel Lawler to feel

the enemy. The expedition started at daylight the next morning, as ordered, and proceeded in the direction indicated until he received an order by the hands of a messenger, dated headquarters Army of Tennessee, to halt his column and return to camp, which he obeyed.

"On the 27th of April I again received orders to march early on the morning of the 30th, and on that day marched my command, in conjunction with the division, with camp and garrison equipage, a distance of about three miles on the road to Monterey, and took position on the right of the division, which rested its left on the Monterey road about nine miles from that place, and near the McCook Hospital. This was Camp No. 3. Roads were repaired and constructed from Camp Stanton to Camp No. 3 by the division, and in the rear of Camp Stanton toward Pittsburg Landing to the extent of three miles.

"Upon the assignment of the major-general commanding the division to the command of the Reserve Corps of the Army of the Tennessee I was, by General Orders No. 1, issued from your headquarters, under date of May 2, 1862, assigned to the command of the Third Division (late First) on account of seniority of rank.

"On the 3d day of May, in conformity with Special Field Orders No. 40, from department headquarters, I was relieved from the command of the division by the assignment of Brig. Gen. H. M. Judah to the command.

Being in ill health, I deferred assuming command of my brigade until I became able. My brigade at that time was under orders to move forward with the division early on the 4th of May. Col. M. K. Lawler, whom I had previously assigned to the command of the First Brigade, conducted his march on the right of the division on that day with military skill and ability. The division moved forward a distance of about six miles, and established a camp on the south bank of Lick Creek, on the main Corinth road, and one mile in rear of Monterey. This was Camp No. 4. Two bridges, constructed across Lick Creek and the road, including that part across Lick Creek Bottom, were constructed from this camp to Pittsburg Landing, for the accommodation of the supply trains. At the above camp I resumed command of my brigade. Frequent cavalry reconnaissances were made from this point, but I have no official knowlege of their results.

"In the afternoon of the 10th day of May I was under orders to move my command forward with the division on the morning of the 11th at an early hour on the road to and in the direction of Corinth, to a house known as Coggsdale's. Upon arriving there I was informed that he would move forward to the camp lately occupied by Major-General Sherman, at the crossing of the old State-line road with the Purdy and Farmington road. Upon arriving at the place thus previously designated, one regiment from my brigade was thrown out one mile in

front as a picket guard. We then proceeded to establish the camp, my brigade taking position on the right, Col. M. K. Lawler, who had been assigned to the command of the Third Brigade, on the left, Brig. Gen. L. F. Ross, commanding Second Brigade, in rear of the center, one battery of artillery on the right of my brigade, two in the center of the division, and one on the left, and the cavalry in rear of the whole command. The Twentieth Illinois (Lieutenant-Colonel Richards commanding), of the Third Brigade, with two pieces of artillery, was ordered in advance for outpost duty, and took position on a line with the infantry pickets on the old State-line road, overlooking Muddy Creek, at the crossing near Haine's house.

"It will not be out of place at this juncture to mention that Capt. S. R. Tresilian, of my staff, in charge of one company of cavalry, advanced beyond the creek and drove the enemy's pickets beyond Easel's house, on the Hack road, leading from Purdy to Corinth. Three companies of the Eleventh Illinois Infantry were ordered on outpost duty one mile on the right of the division, on the road leading from Farmington to Purdy. Cavalry reconnaissances were made daily from this camp, resulting in almost every instance in meeting the enemy's pickets and driving them from their position, of which, however, I am not officially advised in regard to, not being in command of the

division at the time. We at this camp (No. 5), completed the fortifications commenced by Major-General Sherman, and constructed additional rifle-pits. It was from this camp that two companies of the Fourth Illinois Cavalry and Dollins' Cavalry, under command of Lieut. M. Fitts, Capts. M. J. O'Harnett and E. Carmichael's independent companies of cavalry, all under command of Lieut. Col. William McCullough, made a reconnaissance in the direction of and beyond Purdy, destroying the Mobile & Ohio Railroad bridge across Cypress Creek near Jones's Mill, and about five miles south of Bethel. They also captured a locomotive with four men on board, and, placing the men under guard, ran the engine into the creek, destroying it. In their advance they met the enemy's picket, about three miles from Purdy, where a heavy skirmish took place, the enemy's pickets retreating. On the third stand the enemy was discovered drawn up in line of battle, when our force advanced, giving them a volley, causing a panic, which broke their lines, when they immediately retreated, scattering in all directions, continuing to fire, however, from cover of trees, etc. The cavalry of Colonel McCullough was then dismounted by his order, deployed as skirmishers, and ordered to advance. The enemy was still slowly retreating and firing until our force came closely upon them, when they turned, and it became a perfect rout, the enemy passing through

Purdy, dispersing in all directions. The cavalry again mounted, and made a charge through the town, with the hope of taking some of them prisoners. Our cavalry then advanced to the railroad bridge over Cypress Creek, as before stated, and after executing their orders, returned to camp without any loss. While at this camp my command, in conjunction with Brigadier-General Ross's brigade, a battery of eight guns, and a battalion of the Fourth Illinois Cavalry, were ordered to make a reconnaissance, under command of the divison commander, in the direction of the Mobile & Ohio Railroad, for the purpose of ascertaining what force, if any, was in the direction of or on the railroad, and to drive them beyond and destroy the track. The expedition moved forward at four A. M., Brigadier-General Ross, with a battalion of cavalry, taking the advance, my brigade in the rear as a reserve. No enemy appeared before reaching the road, where we found the enemy's pickets posted, and fired upon them, killing one man, when they fell back. General Ross advanced hurriedly, and commenced the work of destroying the road. After doing so, the expedition was ordered to return, arriving in camp at ten A. M., having marched seven miles and destroyed the railroad in six hours.

"About the 4th of May, Brigadier-General Ross was ordered to move forward his brigade with the Fourteenth Indiana Battery of Artillery and two companies

of cavalry, and take position on the main Corinth road one and one-half miles from Camp No. 5. On the 21st of May my command was ordered to move forward, take all camp and garrison equipage, and occupy the position vacated on that day by Major-General Sherman. This was Camp No. 6, near Easel's house, on the road to Corinth. On the 28th of May, at 1.30 A. M., I received orders to move up the first brigade, without camp equipage or transportation, to the extreme right of General Sherman's division, by 7.55 A. M., with instructions to assist in driving the rebels from the house, on Sherman's front; also in driving back their pickets, and to make a strong demonstration of attacking Corinth. General Ross's brigade was at the same time ordered up, and came in my rear. Through some misdirection we advanced too far to the right, and approached the Mobile & Ohio Railroad at Bowie Cut. The enemy's pickets were in sight at a house on the hill on the opposite side of the road. An agreement having been made between the pickets that they would not fire on each other, an officer was sent to inform them that we desired the position held by them. They immediately retired, and we occupied the position. In the meantime messengers had been sent to find out and report the position of General Sherman's division, that we might take position as ordered. None of them giving a report of his position that would enable us to

reach him, Capt. J. J. Dollins, senior aide-de-camp on my staff, was dispatched to ascertain and report correctly his position, which he did, and directed the march to the place assigned to my brigade, to wit: My left resting on the right of General Denver's brigade, and my right resting on the Mobile & Ohio Railroad; General Ross's brigade occupied the position at Bowie Cut, where fortifications were thrown up, under the direction of Brigadier-General Judah.

"Upon arriving at the position assigned me on the right of General Sherman I immediately threw out skirmishers about 300 yards in front of my brigade, under charge of Maj. M. Smith, of the Forty-fifth Illinois Infantry, acting as officer of the day, a brave officer, and in every respect worthy of the duty assigned him. Skirmishing immediately took place, with but little execution being done on either side until the afternoon, when I re-inforced my skirmishers with one other company, commanded by Captain Wilson, from the Eighth Illinois Regiment, for the purpose of driving the enemy's pickets and obtaining a different position. In the engagement which followed the advance Orderly Sergt. Barnard Zick, Company B, Eighth Illinois Regiment, was severely wounded in the arm and one or two others slightly wounded. I had no means of ascertaining what damage the enemy sustained, not being allowed to advance beyond a certain point. Afterward, and near night, the enemy's pickets, being apparently increased,

made a dash at our line, with the evident intention of driving our pickets in, but the men, under the command of the gallant Captains Lieb and Wilson, of the Eighth Illinois Infantry, nobly maintained their position, and after firing two volleys at the enemy advanced and drove him back. Only one of my command was wounded in this action, while seven of the enemy were killed and a large number wounded, but carried off the field. When night arrived I ordered the men to lay on their arms and be ready to meet an attack should one be made. Everything remained quiet, however, through the night, only a few shots being fired.

"Early in the morning shots became more frequent, which apparently indicated a movement by the enemy, but believing only a small force to be in front of my line I asked permission to advance, but was refused authority to do so. Unsteady firing was kept up at intervals during the forenoon and until about 2 o'clock in the afternoon. At about 1 P. M. I was notified that Colonel McDowell's brigade would relieve my command at 4 o'clock that evening. At the time specified two regiments of Colonel McDowell's command relieved the Eighth and Forty-fifth Illinois Regiments, which I started back on their way to the old camp, and was waiting in person for the remaining two regiments of my command, when my picket line immediately in front was briskly attacked and with great force, volley after volley being fired from the enemy into our ranks, many of the balls passing

over the heads of the men standing in line of battle in the rear. I immediately ordered Captain Townes, assistant adjutant-general, to halt the two regiments who were returning to camp, and instruct them to await further orders. In this attack the men again exhibited that true Western courage which has characterized them in so many engagements, and maintained their position like veteran soldiers. After receiving the fire of the enemy they returned it with great vigor, and immediately advanced, under command of Captains Lieb and Cowen, of the Eighth and Forty-fifth Regiments, respectively, and fought the enemy, of three times their number, alone. The enemy succeeded in carrying away all his killed and wounded, which I am informed amounted to near 40 men. This was the last skirmish had on the right of the line occupied by General Sherman and myself. Everything becoming quiet on the lines, and the two regiments of my command being relieved, I ordered the whole command to return, and arrived at camp that evening (May 29) at or near sundown.

"Great credit is due to the members of my staff, Capt. R. R. Townes, assistant adjutant-general; Capt. J. J. Dollins, senior aide-de-camp; Capt. S. R. Tresilian, division engineer, and Capts. A. L. Page, D. C. Moore, and William C. Carroll, aides-de-camp, for their active and efficient services rendered on the march, in camp, and on the field.

"On the next morning I received official notice of the

evacuation of Corinth, and that the American flag, as it waved over the rebel fortifications, was greeted by the thundering shouts of our soldiery.

* * * * * *

"I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant, "JOHN A. LOGAN,

"*Brigadier-General Commanding.*

"Capt. C. T. HOTCHKISS,

"*Acting Assistant Adjutant-General, Reserve Corps.*"

GENERAL SHERMAN ON LOGAN AT CORINTH.

General Sherman, in his official report of the siege of Corinth, dated "Camp, near Corinth, May 30, 1862," says:

"Col. John A. Logan's brigade, of General Judah's division of McClernand's reserve corps, and Gen. Veatch's brigade, of Hurlbut's division, were placed subject to my orders, and took an important part with my own division in the operations of the two following days, viz., May 28 and May 29, 1862; and I now thank the officers and men of those brigades for the zeal and enthusiam they manifested, and the alacrity they displayed in the execution of every order given. * * * And further I feel under special obligations to this officer, General Logan, who, during the two days he served under me, held critical ground on my right, extending down to the railroad. All that time he had in his front a large force of the enemy, but so dense was the foliage that he could not recken their strength save from what he could see in the railroad track."

CHAPTER XIX.

LOGAN IN HIS LATER CAMPAIGNS.

Logan Commander of Jackson.—He goes North to Speak for the Union, but Refuses to Leave the Army for a Seat in Congress.—"I Have Entered the Field to Die, if Need Be."—Appointed Major-General at the End of the Campaign.—The Battle of Port Gibson.—"The Road to Vicksburg Open."—Raymond and Champion Hills.—The Count of Paris Says Logan Secures the Federal Victory.—"The Gibralter of the South."—Logan First to Enter Vicksburg.—Military Governor of the City.—A Series of Brilliant Battles.—The Death of McPherson.—The Fall of Atlanta.—Logan on the Stump for Lincoln.—With Sherman in the Carolinas.—The End of the War.

After the occupation of Corinth, Gen. Logan guarded the railroad communications with Jackson, Tenn., of which place he was subsequently made commander. During the summer of 1862 he returned to his own State, and was urged to leave the army and return to Washington as a Congressman-at-large. He replied:

"*I have entered the field to die, if need be, for this government, and never expect to return to peaceful pursuits until the object of this war of preservation has become a fact established.*"

WITH GRANT ON THE MARCH TO VICKSBURG.

Returning to his brigade, Gen. Logan began the march with Grant in the northern Mississippi campaign, leading the advance as commander of the First Division of the right wing of the Fifteenth Corps, and before he returned to Memphis he was made a Major-General of Volunteers, the date of his commission being November 29, 1862.

Arriving at Memphis on the last day of 1862, the Seventeenth Corps was organized, under orders from the War Department, and Gen. Logan was appointed to the command of its Third Division, which he retained until after the fall of Vicksburg in July, 1863.

Grant's army and the Confederates met eight miles from the Mississippi on May 1st, and the Federals forced the enemy back four miles to Fort Gibson. The struggle lasted until night, and under cover of the darkness the Confederates fled. Logan's division struck the enemy the severest blow of that struggle.

"THE ROAD TO VICKSBURG OPEN."

The Confederates evacuated Grand Gulf, as they had evacuated Post Gibson, and on the morning of May 3d General Grant telegraphed to Sherman:

"Logan is now on the main road from here to Jackson, and McPherson, closely followed by McClernand, on the branch of the same road from Willow Spring. * * * The road to Vicksburg is now open." * * *

Although the road was open, there were yet two hard battles to be fought. The first was that of Raymond, the capital of Hinds County. Logan bore the brunt of this, "one of the hardest small battles of the war," as General Grant has described it, and when the Confederates retreated, followed them through Raymond towards Jackson.

The battle of Champion Hill was fought with great spirit, General Grant having learned of the movement of Johnston for Jackson, and fearing his union with Pemberton for the purpose of crushing the Federal army.

The Count of Paris, in his "History of the Civil War in America," says: "The battle of Champion Hill, considering the number of troops engaged, could not compare with the great conflicts we have already mentioned, but *it produced results far more important* than most of those great hecatombs, like Shiloh, Fair Oaks, Murfreesborough, Fredericksburg, and Chancellorsville, which left the two adversaries fronting each other, both unable to resume the fight. *It was the most complete defeat the Confederates had sustained since the commencement of the war.* * * * * *This battle was the crowning work* of the operations conducted by Grant with equal audacity and skill since his landing at Bruinsburg. In outflanking Pemberton's left along the slopes of Champion Hill, he had completely cut off the latter from all retreat north. Notwithstanding the very excusable error he had com-

mitted in stopping Logan's movement for a short time, *the latter had, through this manœuvre secured victory to the Federal army*"

THE SIEGE OF VICKSBURG.

The city of Vicksburg, situated on the east bank of the Mississippi, surmounting the Walnut Hills, was so adapted by nature for fortification that it was called "the Gibraltar of the South." Admiral Farragut had attempted to capture it with gunboats in June, 1862, but it withstood his assaults, and the achievement of Grant in taking the stronghold must be regarded as one of the greatest in the history of modern war, and Logan was one of his most efficient aids in the work.

The general assault of May 19, 1863, resulted in a Federal loss of more than 4,000, but General Grant ordered a repetition of the attack on the 22d, which resulted in a heavy loss of life, and failed to carry the enemy's works.

General Logan fought so heroically in this siege that an important battery was thereafter called "Battery Logan." He led McPherson's center at Fort Hill, and the hand to hand fighting, when his command stormed the breach at that point, was among the fiercest of the war. Grant was often in Logan's camp during the siege, and it was adjacent to Logan's headquarters that, on the afternoon of July 3d, Grant and Pemberton met to arrange

the terms of capitulation, Logan himself was present, and his column led the way into the captured stronghold on July 4th. The Count of Paris says: "Logan's division was the first to enter Vicksburg. * * * *It had fully deserved this honor. Grant rode at the head.*"

Grant recognized Logan's services in the siege by making him Military Governor of Vicksburg, and the Board of Honor of the Seventeenth Army Corps presented to him a gold medal inscribed with the names of the nine battles in which he had been most distinguished for heroism and generalship.

Having organized his administration as Military Governor of Vicksburg, General Logan started North, in response to appeals for his help in fighting the battles of the Union on the soil of his own State.

A SERIES OF BRILLIANT BATTLES.

Having aroused the flagging zeal of the people whom he addressed, General Logan hastened back to the seat of war, and in November, 1863, he succeeded General Sherman in the command of the Fifteenth Army Corps, which General Grant himself had formerly commanded. It was this corps to which Logan afterwards gave the famous badge "forty rounds."

Having wintered at Huntsville, Alabama, General Logan entered the Grand Military Division of the Mississippi to make the campaign of 1864 against Atlanta under Sherman, who described the Army of the Tennes-

see under McPherson, with Logan as one of the three corps commanders, as "the snapper of the whip with which he proposed to punish the enemy."

General Logan came up with the enemy, in considerable force, about two miles from Resaca, on May 13th, and in the struggle which followed he was wounded in the arm, and received a severe bruise on the shoulder from a glancing ball. Logan entered the town of Resaca at daylight on the 16th, pressing the enemy's rear-guard so closely that he did not succeed in burning but one of the bridges over the Costanaula behind him. During the three days and nights in front of Resaca, General Logan never left his men for a moment, either to eat or to sleep.

Logan again overtook the enemy at Dallas, and a witness says:

"No soldier who witnessed the battle of Dallas will ever forget how grandly Logan looked as, with uncovered head, he dashed down the line on his black war-horse, amid the thickest of the fight. One exultant cheer went up from the soldiers at this daring act of their chief, and, fired with the inspiration of the moment, they retook the guns and drove the enemy from the field. General Logan received a wound in the arm."

Logan was at General Sherman's headquarters when the assault on Kenesaw was decided upon. He declared it to be a movement which, in his judgment,

would be nothing less than the murder of brave men, but he obeyed the order of his commander, and when he returned from the charge upon the mountain, he had lost sixty officers and four hundred men, and his own escape had been almost miraculous.

THE DEATH OF McPHERSON.

The great battle of Atlanta, the bloodiest fought in the West, resulted in the death of General McPherson, on July 22. Early on that morning an officer of Sherman's staff arrived at McPherson's headquarters, and said: "General Sherman believes that the enemy has evacuated Atlanta, and desires you to move rapidly forward beyond the city towards East Point, leaving General Dodge of the sixteenth corps upon the railroad to destroy it effectually."

McPherson was incredulous, but ordered Logan to advance, saying: "Major-General Sherman desires and expects a vigorous pursuit."

He then rode to Logan's headquarters for a conference, but on the way shots were fired which confirmed his opinion that Sherman was misinformed, and he then ordered Logan to go into position for battle. Soon after he rode over to Sherman's headquarters to explain his disregard of instructions. Obtaining approval for his conduct he was returning along a narrow bridlepath, when a volley was fired upon him by a stray company of Hardee's corps, and killed.

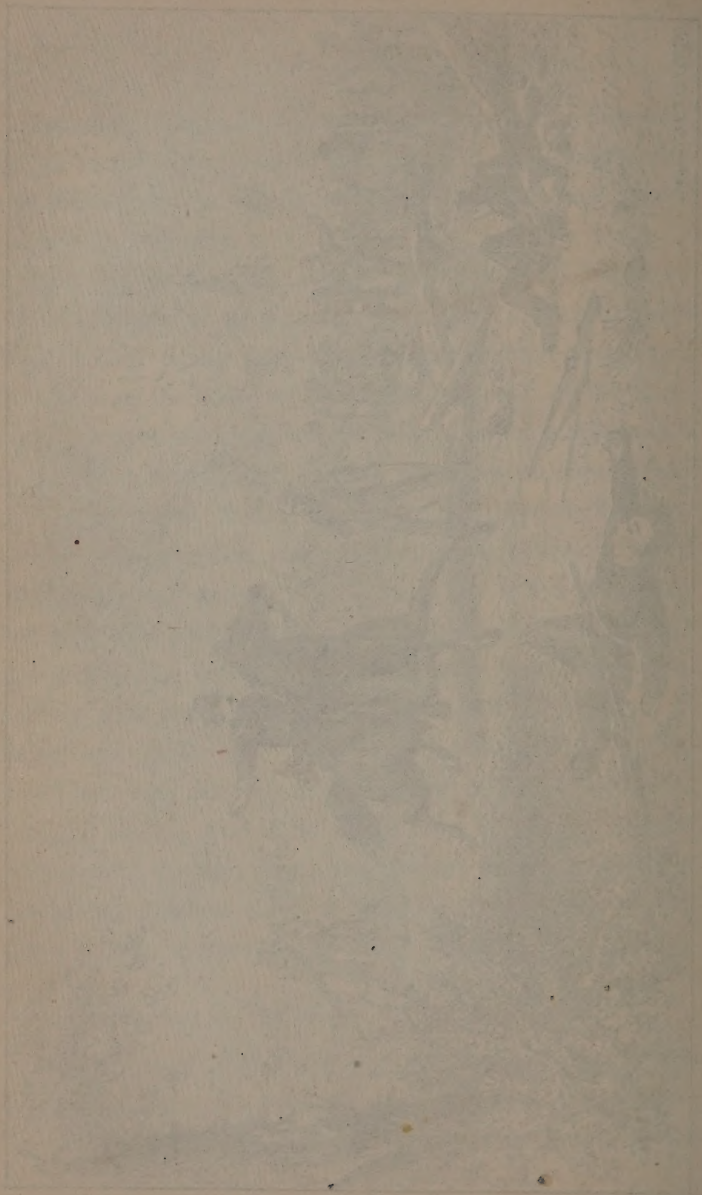
General Sherman immediately appointed General Logan to the command of the Army of the Tennessee, and the manner in which he checked a panic and saved the day, is historic.

Says one of Logan's men: "Never shall I forget—never will one of us who survived that desperate fight forget to our dying day—the grand spectacle presented by Logan as he rode up and down in front of the line, his black eyes flashing fire, his long black hair streaming in the wind, bareheaded and his service-worn slouch hat swinging in his bridle hand and his sword flashing in the other, crying out in stentorian tones, '*Boys! McPherson and revenge!*' It made my blood run both hot and cold, and moved every man of us to follow to the death the brave and magnificent hero-ideal of a soldier who made this resistless appeal to all that is brave and gallant in a soldier's heart; and this, too, when the very air was alive with whistling bullets and howling shell. And if he could only have been painted as he swept up and down the line on a steed as full of fire as his glorious rider, it would to-day be one of the finest battle pictures of the war."

LOGAN STRIKES THE BLOW WHICH WINS ATLANTA.

The recovery of the Army of the Tennessee from the terror caused by the death of its commander was almost wholly due to Logan's exertions, and his retention as

GEN. LOGAN AT THE BATTLE OF ATLANTA.—SCENE OF THE DEATH OF GEN. MACPHERSON.



McPherson's permanent successor would have been as gratifying to the army as just to himself, but the record says:

"By order of the President, Gen. Howard assumes command. This was upon the recommendation of Gen. Sherman, who admitted that General Logan was entitled to the position, but was not an academy man."

Resuming the command of his corps, Logan faced the enemy in the battle of Ezra Chapel, on the 28th of July, and repulsed the rebel army completely.

For a month following Logan pushed his lines forward, until Sherman decided to raise the siege of Atlanta. Logan withdrew from position in front of Atlanta on the night of August 26th, destroyed the West Point railway, and then drove the enemy ten miles to Jonesboro', arriving before that place on August 30th. The battle which followed was terrific, and it virtually decided the fate of Atlanta, which city was almost immediately evacuated, Sherman's army entering victoriously on Sept. 2, 1864.

General Logan went North to take the stump for Lincoln in the campaign of 1864, but joined his command at Savannah, and marched with Sherman through the Carolinas, and after the surrender of Johnston's army on April 26, 1865, he returned northward with the victorious veterans, and passed through Washington with them as they returned to their homes.

CHAPTER XX.

LOGAN IN CONGRESS.

Logan's First Appearance in National Politics.—In Congress at the beginning of the War, he Resigns to Raise a Regiment.—He Returns after the War with a Famous Majority.—Logan and the Andrew Johnson Impeachment.—Bitter Disappointment as a Manager at the Verdict of Acquittal.—Logan and the Fitz-John Porter Case.—The Peroration of His Memorable Speech of March 14, 1884.—His Sincerity Commands the Respect of those who Dissent from his Views.—One of the Busiest Men in Washington.—Demands upon Him from Every State in the Union.

Logan appeared in national politics as a Presidential elector in 1856, and during the same year he was elected to Congress from the Ninth Illinois District, and he was a member not only of the XXXVIth, but also of the XXXVIIth Congress, being the second native of his State to represent Illinois in Congressional proceedings. Like that of many other patriotic men, his legislative career was interrupted for a period of years by the war to save the Union, but in his case the manner of the interruption was so extraordinary that it will ever remain

one of the most interesting episodes in the great struggle of 1861–5.

THE SAME SPIRIT IN PEACE AS IN WAR.

In another chapter an account has been given of Representative Logan's visit to the army commanded by General McDowell in July, 1861, accompanied by many other members of Congress, and of his heroic service as a private to stay the confederate tide which was sweeping almost irresistibly toward Washington, under the direction of General Beauregard supported by General Johnston. The quick resolution, courageous action, fearless energy and intensity of purpose which he exhibited in the first great struggle of the war have been characteristic of him as a Congressman, and he has shrunk from no encounter in debate and retreated from no conflict upon the floor of either house, when impelled by a sense of duty to contend for the success or the defeat of any measure. He has never been afraid to utter bold words and assume responsibility for them, and he stamps his daring individuality upon all he utters. Whatever other charges ignorance, malice, and jealousy may have trumped up against him, that of cowardice or avoiding the issue has never been made.

Although Logan returned to his seat in the House of Representatives after carrying a musket in the first battle of Bull Run, when Congress adjourned in August, he re-

turned to Illinois to raise troops, having determined to abandon the floor of legislation for the field of battle. But he did not retire from Congress without striking effective blows for the Government. He was sent to Congress as a Democrat, and he had earnestly advocated the election of Stephen A. Douglas as President, yet his patriotism impelled him to rebuke those who threatened violence in the event of the "Little Giant's" defeat, and he openly declared that he hoped Mr. Lincoln would not be elected, yet if he were, and his election should provoke an outbreak of the hostile southern sentiment, he "would shoulder his musket to have him inaugurated." During the session of Congress in the winter of 1860–61 he repeatedly arraigned the southern members for their disloyalty, and asked them how they reconciled their open hostility to the Government with their oaths to support the Constitution.

HIS FAMOUS MAJORITY AFTER THE WAR.

After the war Logan was offered the appointment of Minister to Mexico, by President Johnson in 1865, but he declined it, and in the following year he was honored by Illinois with an election as Congressman-at-large, and took his seat in the fortieth Congress, having a majority of more than 60,000. The impeachment trial of Andrew Johnson was the chief Congressional event of the following year, and Logan entered into the proceedings for the

removal of the President with a zeal begotten of indignation. He regarded the conduct of Johnson as not only ungrateful and unjust, but also as extremely dangerous, and as one of the managers of the case for the House of Representatives he exerted himself to the utmost to secure a verdict of condemnation from the Senate.

Mr. Ashley of Ohio arose in his seat in the House on January 7, 1867, and charged the "Acting President of the United States" with the commission of "high crimes and misdemeanors, for which he ought to be impeached," and specified the corrupt use of the appointing power, of the pardoning power, and of the veto power, a corrupt disposition of public property of the United States, and a corrupt interference in elections as offenses for which he ought to be tried. For more than a year the action hung in the House, and meanwhile the struggle between the President and Secretary Stanton was fierce, and the possession of the War Department was hotly contested. At length Congressmen resolved to proceed against the Chief Executive, regarding his attempt to remove Stanton after they had restored him as intolerable, and on February 22, 1868, the House of Representatives resolved, by a vote of 126 to 47, "that Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors."

LOGAN AND THE IMPEACHMENT CASE VERDICT.

The Senate, sitting as a High Court of Impeachment, with Chief Justice Chase presiding, began the hearing on March 20th, and the case took about two months, during which time it was the sensation of the whole country. A committee had prepared nine charges when the managers of the prosecution were appointed, and two more articles were added by the managers themselves, one of them accusing the President of seditious speeches, while "swinging around the circle," and the other alleging that he had declared that Congress was not a legal body, authorized to exercise legislative powers. The examination of witnesses was continued until April 22d, the arguments of counsel were finished on May 5th, and the Senators took twenty days for debate. When the fifty-four Senators present cast their votes for a verdict it was found that Johnson had been acquitted by one vote, two-thirds of the whole being required for conviction.

As a manager of the case against the President, Logan had left nothing undone which he thought it possible to do to secure a result in accordance with his sense of justice, and the escape of Johnson was a bitter disappointment to him. He had no patience with traitors or cowards in the army, and he was equally intolerant of disloyalty or unfaithfulness to the government in civil life, and he pursued those whom he believed to have forfeited the confidence of the country, either in military or

in civil office, with a relentless determination to drive them from power.

LOGAN AND FITZ JOHN PORTER.

His part in the case of Fitz John Porter exhibits the intensity of feeling which anything having an aspect of disloyalty to the nation always excites in him, and the briefest sketch of his Congressional career would be incomplete without an allusion to his furious resistance of the attempt to restore Porter to his rank in the army. Logan was a member of the House continuously until 1871, in which year he was chosen as the successor of Senator Dick Yates in the Senate, and although at the expiration of his first term as Senator he resumed the practice of law for a period of two years, he returned to the Senate as the successor of Governor Oglesby in 1879, and so he was able to follow the case of Porter almost throughout its entire progress in Congress.

Porter, who was Chief of staff to Generals Patterson and Banks with the rank of Brigadier-General of Volunteers, during the first weeks of the war, was assigned to the command of a division in the Army of the Potomac in August 1861, and in July 1862, he was assigned to the command of the Fifth Army Corps, and in the siege of Yorktown and during the whole Peninsular campaign which ended with the battle of Malvern Hills, he acquitted himself so creditably that at General McClellan's request he was made Major-General of Volunteers.

PORTER'S HUMILIATION.

His humiliation came after his attachment to the Army of Virginia, and for his failure to obey orders issued by General Pope in the terrible struggle with Lee, in August, 1862, he was removed from his command. At McClellan's request he was restored and he accompanied that General in the campaign in Maryland, but in November he was ordered to Washington for trial by Court-martial, and on January 21, 1863, he was cashiered for violation of the ninth and fifty-second Articles of War. In 1870 he appealed to the President for a reversal of the sentence, and in 1878 a commission of inquiry was appointed to ascertain whether there was evidence to warrant a new trial. The decision was affirmative, and the relief recently afforded to General Porter as the result of the protracted proceedings in his case is familiar to all.

Although General Grant was convinced by a reinvestigation of the case, that Porter was ordered to do an impossible thing and was therefore justified in not executing an order which was given under a misapprehension, Logan's opinion was never changed, and believing that Porter should have unquestioningly obeyed, as he himself would have done, even though commanded to march to certain death, he felt bound to oppose the movement for his restoration, and his opposition was perhaps the most formidable obstacle the friends of Porter had to encounter.

A LIST OF LOGAN'S CHIEF SPEECHES.

Although Logan does not often take the floor, when he does speak he speaks to an attentive Chamber and crowded galleries. In his various tilts with "Copperheads" in the House, or "Southern Brigadiers" in the Senate, he always vanquished them. Several of his speeches at the time attracted wide attention,—such, for instance, as that in the House in 1867 on the Supplementary Reconstruction Bill, being a defense of the Republican party and its policy in the South; that in 1869 on the Civil Tenure Office Bill, opposing "all class legislation in any form," and "all perpetuities of office in a land of liberty"; and that in 1870 against bond subsidies for railroads. In the Senate his speeches have been even more powerful than those delivered in the House. Never did the Rebel Brigadiers have more severe handling than in his great speech of two days in defense of President Grant's conduct of affairs in Louisiana and of Gen. Sheridan.

His speech in 1872, in behalf of bills for the relief of Chicago, then lying in ashes, was a vivid description of calamity, and a powerful appeal for assistance. Another remarkable speech, fairly bristling with comparative facts and statistics, and trenchant deductions therefrom was that on specie payments, in 1879. Another on the Army Appropriation Bill, 1879, presents a clear analysis of the relations of the army to the civil power of the

Government, and a strong denunciation of the mischievous, unconstitutional, and revolutionary nature of the Democratic attempt to conquer Executive approval of obnoxious "riders" upon appropriation bills, under the threat of otherwise withholding appropriations. His more recent set speeches in the Senate on education, and the Fitz-John Porter case were able and exhaustive, the four-day-speech of 1880, on the bill to restore Fitz-John Porter to the army and pay him $60,000, being delivered before a listening Senate and crowded galleries throughout—with Blaine, and Conkling, and Garfield, and Gen. Sherman, and even Porter himself giving their absolute attention to the array of military law, fact, argument, illustration, denunciation, and appeal poured forth from the eloquent lips of this warrior statesman. It was likened by the press to the greatest effort of Tom Benton, in length and force, and the New York *Tribune* said of it: "Probably never before within the history of the Senate has a speech, lasting through the sessions of four days, been listened to with such attention."

CHAPTER XXI.

LOGAN IN HIS FAMILY.

The Scene in the Logan Home in Washington after the Chicago Nomination. — The Boarding-House in which the Logans have spent Twelve Winters. — "A Remarkable Wedded Pair." — Mrs. Logan's Early History. — Brought up a Baptist, she is Educated in a Convent, but Marries as a Methodist. — As a Girl she Aids her Father, as she afterwards Aided her Husband. — Mrs. Logan during the War. — The Logan Children. — Mrs. Logan's Ambition. — Not Rich, a House in Chicago and a Farm in Southern Illinois. — An Evening with Logan at Home. — Mrs. Logan's Personal Appearance.

A glimpse at the home of Senator Logan on Friday evening, June 6th, just after his nomination at Chicago, affords the imagination material for a picture of the domestic life of the Logan family. At ten o'clock General Logan was sitting in a little upper room in his modest boarding-house in Washington, by the side of a telegraph instrument which was connected directly with the convention hall in Chicago, conversing with a friend concerning the events of the day. The room was the little chamber occupied by Manning Logan the son of the Senator, then at West Point. While in Washington

the family reside at No. 812 Twelfth street, occupying two rooms in the same boarding-house in which they have lived for twelve years.

All the doors and windows were open to catch the evening breeze, and the lights were turned down except at a desk in one corner, where the General's secretary sat writing. In the adjoining front room Mrs. Logan was conversing with a party numbering eight or ten ladies and two or three gentlemen.

A card was brought in to the General by a colored waiter, followed on the instant by two or three perspiring gentlemen, who seized General Logan's hand and shook it heartily, offering him congratulations. More gentlemen entered. Loud shouts came up from the street. Somebody proposed three cheers for something. A sound of drums approaching from a distance lent its help to swell the noise. "Speech!" "Speech!" shouted a crowd of a thousand men in the street. The General was cheered vociferously when he made his appearance, and when silence was secured he said: "Friends, I thank you for your cordial greeting to-night. I am not prepared to make a speech. Again I thank you. Good-night." The General and Mrs. Logan were now conducted back to the parlor of the mansion, and the doors being thrown open the crowd pressed in. Forming in line, they filed past, shaking the hands of both the General and his wife. In half an hour they

were gone, and General Logan had an opportunity to read the paper which Mrs. Logan had brought him as the scene began. It proved to be an Associated Press bulletin announcing his nomination by acclamation for the Vice-Presidency.

The apartments of the Logan family are visited by people from every State in the Union who desire the aid of Senator Logan, and yet all is so ordered that there is no confusion, and while the Senator is engaged with the business of some caller from a distance, Mrs. Logan may be entertaining a group of friends in the adjoining room, and when the guests have departed, the cosy apartments witness a domestic scene like that following the congratulations of the Friday evening of the Chicago nomination.

MRS. LOGAN'S EARLY HISTORY.

They were so one that neither one could say
Whether did rule, or whether did obey;
He ruled because she would obey, and she,
In so obeying ruled as well as he.

Foley's lines about "A remarkable wedded pair" apply most aptly to Mr. and Mrs. Logan. It is seldom that so happy a marriage union as theirs is formed, and the term "helpmeet" was never more applicable to a wife than to Mrs. Logan.

An intimate friend gives her early history as follows: "The American ancestry of Mrs. Logan goes back to a

sturdy Irish settler of Virginia and a French pioneer of Louisiana. Her great-grandfather, Robert Cunningham, of Virginia, was a soldier of the war for Independence, after which he removed to Tennessee, thence to Alabama, and thence to Illinois, when still a territory, and there manumitted his slaves. Her father, Captain John M. Cunningham, served in the fierce Black Hawk war. He was a member of the Legislature of Illinois in 1845 and 1846, and served in the Mexican war. Her mother was Elizabeth Fontaine, of a distinguished family of that name which had arrived in Louisiana during the French occupancy of that country, and had thence journeyed up the Mississippi river and settled in Missouri. It was here that John Cunningham met his bride, and it was near the present village of Sturgeon, then known as Petersburg, in Boone County, Mo., that Mary Simmerson Logan was born, on August 15, 1838. When she was one year old her parents removed to Illinois and settled in Marion, Williamson County. It was here that the mother and her oldest daughter, then but nine years old, shared the dangers of a frontier home and the cares and solicitude of a growing family, when the husband and father went forth to fight the battles of his country upon the parched plains of Mexico and braved the trials and privations of a miner's life in the Sierras of California.

"This courageous and dutiful little girl relieved her

mother, who was not strong, of most of the household work, and still found time to attend the primitive school of the neighborhood and train herself in useful needlework.

HER LOVE OF STUDY.

"The father felt a just pride in his eldest daughter. The assistance which she had rendered her mother during his long absence in Mexico and California had even more closely endeared her to his heart, and her love of study had prompted him to give part of his income to her proper education. Accordingly, in 1853, the daughter was sent to the Convent of St. Vincent, near Morganfield, Ky., a branch of the Nazareth Institute, the oldest institution of the kind in the country. This was the nearest educational establishment of sufficient advancement in the higher branches of knowledge. The young lady was reared a Baptist; after her marriage she joined the Methodist Church, the church of the Logan family.

HOW SHE BECAME LOGAN'S WIFE.

"Having graduated in 1855, Miss Cunningham returned to her father's home at Shawneetown. In her younger days, when a mere child, she had aided her father as Sheriff of the county, Clerk of the Court and Register of the Land Office in preparing his papers. Those were not the days of blank forms for legal docu-

ments. Accordingly the father depended upon the daughter to make copies for him. While Mary Cunningham was thus aiding her father in his official duties John Logan was Prosecuting Attorney of the district. He had known Father Cunningham and was his warm friend. He had known the daughter as a little girl. In 1855 they were married and at once went to the young attorney's home at Benton, Franklin County. The bride was sixteen years of age, but her young life had already been one of usefulness to her mother and of great service to her father.

"The young wife immediately installed herself in the place of companion and helpmeet to her husband. She accompanied him on all his professional journeys, an undertaking in those days of wildernesses and no roads often requiring great endurance and privation. In 1856 the devoted wife saw her husband triumphantly elected a member of the Legislature, and in the famous Douglas and Lincoln Senatorial contest he was elected as a Douglas Democrat to Congress. In all these hard-fought political campaigns the noble wife went with her husband, assisting in much of his work of correspondence and copying, and frequently receiving his friends and conferring with them on the details of the campaign. When Mr. Logan came to Congress as a Representative, Mrs. Logan came with him. She remained with him in Washington until the outbreak of the Rebellion when he

resigned his seat in Congress to return to Illinois to go into the service of his country.

MRS. LOGAN DURING THE WAR.

"The war having commenced and Mr. Logan having raised and been assigned to the command of the Thirty-first Illinois Volunteers, Mrs. Logan, with her only living child, then three years old (now Mrs. Tucker), returned to her father's home at Marion. The Illinois troops having been ordered into camp at Cairo, Mrs. Logan joined her husband there. During the fierce battle of Belmont Mrs. Logan heard the booming of the guns across the turbid flood of the Mississippi. In the midst of painful and anxious suspense for the safety of her own, of whom she felt that he was in the thickest of the conflict, she gave a helping hand to the care of the wounded and suffering soldiers as they were brought back from that bloody field.

"When the army entered upon the Tennessee river campaign Mrs. Logan again returned to her home, but was soon shocked by the news from Donelson that her husband had fallen at the head of his charging columns, dangerously wounded. She hastened to the scene to care for her husband. For days it was a struggle between life and death.

"At Memphis, in the winter of 1862–3, Mrs. Logan again joined her husband, now a general, and remained

there until he led his troops in the campaign which ended in the surrender of Vicksburg.

"During this time and to the end of the war Mrs. Logan remained at Carbondale, where, out of the general's salary, they had bought an unpretentious home. Upon his return from the war, General Logan was nominated by acclamation for Congressman-at-Large. After his election Mrs. Logan returned to Washington, and has been one of the prominent figures in Washington society ever since."

THE LOGAN CHILDREN.

Indefatigable and efficient as Mrs. Logan has been as the helpmeet of her husband, she has not neglected her duties as a mother. She has two children, a daughter, who is the wife of Paymaster Tucker, of the army, now stationed at Santa Fe, and a son, Manning, who is a cadet at West Point, having inherited his father's military ambition. The tastes of the youth are revealed by the photographs of military heroes and various trappings of war with which he decorated the walls of his room in Washington before his appointment as a cadet.

One who knows the family well says of Mrs. Logan's devotion to her children: "Both of them have been educated by her or under her personal supervision; both have been constantly at her side; in the camp, during war time, and in the most exciting political campaigns,

she has never for a moment neglected the duties of her household or forgotten her children's claims."

But Mrs. Logan's activities are not confined to the welfare of her family. As a society woman she is graceful and accomplished; in charities she is always active and generous; and as a member of the Methodist Church she has been devoted and pre-eminently useful.

MRS. LOGAN'S AMBITION.

In correcting a false impression as to the assistance she renders to her husband, she has admirably expressed her own aim in life, and her view of the ambition of the majority of American women, as follows:

"A great deal has been said at different times about the assistance I rendered to the General in the performance of his public duties. I aid him by relieving him of many details, but it is not right to say that I write his speeches, because it is not correct. I take charge of his correspondence, and I do this because the General is very conscientious. I read all his letters and lay all their contents before him. Most public men are at the mercy of their private secretaries, who do not have their interests at heart and who often abuse the confidence reposed in them. Every correspondent making a reasonable request is entitled to some sort of a response. The General has never deceived any one, because he has known the contents of all his correspondence. I have

also done much copying and have marked authorities on various subjects upon which he proposed to speak. I belong to that class of American women who feel that the glory of their husbands is their glory. I chose rather to shine in the reflected light of my husband than to put myself forward. It has always been my sole ambition to be a good and useful wife and a true mother. I have been the companion of my husband and I think this is the sole ambition of the great mass of American women, as it should be."

Senator Logan is not rich, and it seems to have been the ambition of neither himself nor his wife to amass wealth. The Logan residence in Chicago is on Calumet Avenue, the house being the General's own property. He also has a farm near his old home in Southern Illinois, and these possessions are said to constitute his entire wealth. The Chicago house is estimated to be worth from $25,000 to $30,000.

SENATOR LOGAN AT HOME.

Senator Logan is a delightful conversationalist, and one who has enjoyed the hospitality of his home, says of his extensive information, as exhibited in his familiar intercourse with friends: "He is not a specialist in any particular field, which is the way a man usually acquires fame; his taste is omnivorous, like Humboldt's, and his favorite books are the Bible, Shakspeare, and

Cosmos. An evening spent in hearing him defend the truths of the Bible, discourse upon classical literature, or take you to the region of the Yellowstone, where the Almighty's agents in the shape of the forces are putting on the weird touches of creative art, affords an intellectual delight which memory holds long among her treasures."

He never assumes to possess literary ability, although he has talent in this direction of a high order. A short drama written under the impulse of the moment to amuse the young people of the house during the Christmas holidays, gave proof of what he might have done had he practiced with the pen as assiduously in earlier life as he practiced with the sword.

MRS. LOGAN'S PERSONAL APPEARANCE.

Mrs. Logan is tall, with well-rounded figure, a handsome, intelligent face, hair almost as white as the driven snow, in marked contrast with the raven locks of "Black Jack," her husband. She is one of the most popular and brilliant women in society. In figure she and Mrs. Blaine are much alike, and in face they are somewhat similar. In gentleness of manner and tact as a politician and social leader, she is surpassed by few. She has been active in all her husband's campaigns, and in ability to entertain and make friends, she is equaled by few women in public life. The campaign

will find Mrs. Logan exerting all her energy for the success of her husband, and with that the success of the Republican ticket. The mass of correspondence pouring in from day to day, she dispatches with her own hands and the aid of a stenographer. She also lends her presence to the numerous visits of congratulation from committees and individuals from all parts of the country.

An enthusiastic correspondent said of her shortly before the Chicago Convention: "Self-sacrificing and absolutely devoted to her husband's best interests, she is also a most affable, charming, bright, and clear-headed lady in society. Always at ease herself, she sets all others in her presence at ease — at once a womanly woman, and yet with those vivid and just perceptions in and knowledge of public affairs which befit a statesman's wife, and she is better fitted to occupy the proud eminence of "first lady in the land," than any lady in the White House since the days of Lady Washington, whom she somewhat resembles."

CHAPTER XXII.

LOGAN AND HIS FRIENDS.

Logan's First Appearance in the Senate After the Nomination.—His Relations with Brother Senators.—The Sentiments of Edmunds and Other Senators Toward Him.—The Secret of his Friendships.—General Grant's Estimate of Him.—Logan and General Thomas.—His Social Instincts Illustrated by a Story.—Logan and the Soldiers.—His Devotion to their Interests While in Congress.—One of the Founders of the Grand Army of the Republic.—Logan's Admirers in the South.—Logan and his Constituents.—Logan and Laboring Men.—His Tribute to Blaine.—His Speech of Acceptance.

Senator Logan entered the Senate Chamber for the first time after his nomination as the Republican candidate for Vice-President on Monday, June 9th, arriving during the prayer, which brought him to a sudden halt at the main entrance, where he at once took the "first position of a soldier," and remained as motionless as a statue until the chaplain ceased to pray. The scene which followed discloses the peculiarly cordial relatives which exist between him and his brother Senators. When his presence was discovered he was immediately

met and surrounded by a group of Republican Senators, and congratulations and cordial handshaking was the order for quite a little while. The Senator, being intercepted on his way to the coat-room, still holding his hat, having only the use of one hand for shaking, was grasped by both hands by one after another of his friends, and when he reached the cloak-room, he was immediately followed by other gentlemen eager to express their good feeling toward the prospective President of the Senate. The greetings were very cordial on the Republican side, and it was observed that a few of the Democrats left their seats to congratulate him. When Logan reached his seat, the venerable Vermont Senator came toward his desk and engaged in a lengthy and apparently hearty conversation. Senator Don Cameron took a seat alongside, and the two engaged in a quiet and extended talk, and judging from the occasional outbreaks of laughter of both, the subject must have been agreeable. Senator Frye, who had just returned from a fishing excursion to Maine, looking quite sunburned, seemed to enjoy the opportunity of congratulating Mr. Logan.

THE SECRET OF LOGAN'S FRIENDSHIPS.

Senator Edmunds remarked, when the indications pointed to the nomination of Logan for the Vice-Presidency: "I don't see but it is the best thing they can possibly do. The soldier element will be most fittingly

recognized in the selection." Senator Harrison said: "We have never had a stronger candidate for the Vice-Presidency. Logan is a brave, sincere, and able man. He served in two wars, and carries three wounds. The soldiers will rally to him in force. We can carry Indiana for the ticket. I have no doubt of it."

The prompt indorsement by the somewhat frigid Vermont Senator is quite as significant as the ardor of Senator Harrison's support, and indicates that there are in Logan qualities of manliness which challenge the respect and esteem of his associates in the Senate, even when he is not in agreement with them as to questions of public policy. He certainly does not avoid conflict in debate from the fear of alienating friends. He is usually in his seat or in the committee-room, being attentive to his duties. At times, says a Washington correspondent, when he desires to listen to a discussion without taking part, he retires to the pleasant smoking-room to the right of the middle entrance to the chamber, often emerging suddenly from his retreat to take a hand in debate. He loves a warm discussion, is not averse to getting into a dispute, and always bears down heavily on his antagonist, yielding nothing and fighting every inch of ground with such vigor that the other is usually glad to retire in the best possible order.

LOGAN AND GENERAL GRANT.

Whoever has had even a casual and brief conversation with General Grant is aware that there is a singular charm in his simplicity and directness, and evident genuineness, which never fades from the memory; and a similar impression is made by General Logan. It is, perhaps, because of qualities of resemblance in them that the two men have been such steadfast friends during all the years since the war brought them together.

An amusing story is told of the two which illustrates not only their personal characteristics but also their thorough understanding of each other. When some one said to President Grant that Senator Logan seemed rather inclined to complain of the administration, the President smiled, and answered that he knew Logan well. "He is critical by nature," he said, "and always speaks his opinion. During the war, "while we lay in camp, nobody commented more sharply upon the little slips and blunders than John Logan, but when the order came to march no corps was in more perfect order, none moved more promptly, and none was more bravely led than John Logan's. He will criticise the administration just as often and as sharply as he chooses, but he will give no aid or comfort to the enemy."

Logan is sometimes called a chronic growler, and Gen. Grant once said that he "was never at peace except in war." He thrives on opposition, and is never so cool

or so good-natured as when he is in the midst of an exciting contest. Gen. Grant, when he was in the White House, once described his characteristics by comparing him with the late Oliver P. Morton. "Morton will come to me," said Grant, "with two requests. I will grant one of them, and he will go away boasting of his influence with the administration. Logan will come with thirteen requests. I will grant twelve of them, and he will go away swearing that his wishes are never complied with."

LOGAN AND GENERAL THOMAS.

General Thomas perceived the sterling qualities of Logan's character, and an authentic incident of their relations, and one which the friends of that great soldier, "the Rock of Chicamauga," are never weary in telling, reveals the fidelity of Logan's friendship. Logan had been cut off from joining his command for the march to the sea, and subsequently reported to City Point for orders. He reached there just after the first order for General Thomas's removal before Nashville had been telegraphed to Washington, and its promulgation delayed. For the second time General Grant had become exceedingly impatient, and decided to remove Thomas. Upon the appearance of Logan, Grant ordered him to proceed at once to Nashville and await orders. His instructions contemplated his relieving General Thomas, if on his arrival no attack had been made upon Hood. Here was a most

brilliant position offered—that of Commander of the Army of the Cumberland, just as it had been reorganized and put in order for battle, and stood in its trenches ready for the word to advance. Had ambition alone actuated him, here was an opportunity of a lifetime of active service. But instead of obeying the spirit of his instructions, he proceeded with such deliberation as to prove beyond room for cavil that self-seeking was not the motive which controlled Logan in the war.

He moved to his new post without undue haste. He seemed to appreciate the situation far better than Grant himself. His leisurely journey to Nashville gave time for the battle to open under Thomas. And when it opened Logan telegraphed announcing the beginning of Thomas's success, and asking to be ordered to his old command.

"There is nothing in Logan's military history more creditable than this," says an old war correspondent. "Many thousand veterans of the Army of the Cumberland will have this chapter in particular remembrance when they vote this fall, and none who read about it and admire fair play will be apt to forget it."

LOGAN'S SOCIAL INSTINCTS.

Although stern as an officer and sometimes even fierce in his demeanor toward his men, Logan has social qualities which make him a charming companion, as an

incident worth telling for its intrinsic interest, apart from its illustrative value, may show.

An officer who served in the same division with Gen. Logan in the early part of the war tells the following story:

"That Logan was a brave man everybody who ever saw him in battle can testify, and the same is the case with everybody who tried a hand against him in a game of poker. It takes nerve to handle the cards at poker, and Black Jack had plenty of it; it takes coolness and audacity to win at the game, and I need say no more than that few players were able to get away with him. Everybody played poker in those times; even the chaplains used to take a turn at it, and the only difference between them and the rest of the boys was that a chaplain was not expected to raise the ante, or bluff on a 'jack-pot.' On the other hand, the etiquette of the game forbade any of us to raise a chaplain above two dollars and a half, no matter what the provocation. I've laid down four queens, or a flush, and seen Jack Logan do the same, and let the chaplain rake in the pile rather than raise him, though we might have lifted him out of his boots without half trying.

"While we were passing away the time in camp, waiting for a chance to move on the enemy, there was nothing like poker to keep the intellectual faculties in active operation. When Jack Logan was one of a party it was

a picture to be remembered. He would draw his slouch hat down over his eyes and conceal as much of his face as possible, and when the cards were dealt he held them close up to his chin, in order to prevent any distraction of the bystanders or the other players. You couldn't tell from his manner whether he held four kings or only a pair of deuces; a royal flush or a bob-tail were all the same to him, so far as any outward sign indicated, and while the betting was going on he was as silent as a cemetery, except when it was his turn to speak. He never showed up his cards unless he was obliged to by the rules of the game. One night when a bystander tried to examine Jack's hand after he had 'laid down,' the latter took out his revolver and put it on the table, with the quiet remark, 'Don't try that on again;' and he didn't try.

"The only time I ever knew Jack to be outmatched was once during the siege of Vicksburg. The troops were mostly camped on the shore, while the transport steamboats were tied up to the bank at Duncan's Landing. We used to put in the evenings on the transports, and the old hands showed the greenhorns how to play poker; it was sometimes expensive for the students, as you can't learn to play poker without its costing you something. There were a lot of newspaper correspondents, cotton speculators, army contractors, and other civilians, around there; they were generally good fellows

and, what was more, they usually had money, which was not the case with the officers, as the government was not prompt in paying us.

"One night, on the transport *John H. Dickey*, there was a correspondent who had just come down from Cairo and was making the acquaintance of the crowd by setting up the drinks and telling stories. We started a game of poker at twenty-five cents ante and asked him to take a hand. He hesitated, and said he didn't know anything about the game. Of course we offered to teach him, as we had often done to the other correspondents. He thanked us, and added, 'Anyhow, the ante is too high for me, as I'm only a poor wretch of a newspaper man, and my salary is small.'

"We offered to make the ante to suit him, and then, with an appearance of modesty, he answered:

"'If you'll make it ten cents I'll venture on it. But you mustn't press me hard, as I haven't but thirty-four dollars about me.'

"With this understanding he sat down and the game went on. He asked a good many questions, and we allowed him to take instruction from another correspondent, who was sitting there and not in the performance. He seemed to learn quickly, though he made some very natural mistakes. In half an hour or so he said he guessed he understood it, and the other correspondent went off to write a letter to his paper.

"Somehow that fellow got on famously, and almost every time it come to a bluff or a raise he walked away with the pot. He must have cleared a hundred and fifty dollars that night, and possibly two hundred. The next evening he tried it again and with better luck yet. Before we got through with that fellow he had gone through us, Black Jack and the rest. We hadn't money enough for daily expenses, and had to borrow of that correspondent to pay our mess bills.

"Of course, we don't play poker now, as we're all above it. That correspondent is high up in his profession to-day; Logan is candidate for the Vice-Presidency, and will fill the place well if he gets it, but I'll bet he hasn't forgotten that game with the newspaper correspondent on the *John H. Dickey*."

LOGAN AND THE SOLDIERS.

"If you want to hear an old soldier yell loud enough to be heard three miles away, just ask him how 'Black Jack Logan' stands in with the 'vets,'" wrote "Jim-crax" Hine, a Michigan journalist who served three years in the war. His expression, given while a spectator of the wild scenes following Logan's nomination at Chicago, really represents the feeling of old soldiers towards General Logan.

Lieutenant-Colonel Cogswell, of the 150th New York Regiment, Twentieth Army Corps, spoke for the great

mass of ex-soldiers when he said, at a Blaine and Logan ratification meeting at Titusville, Pennsylvania, a few days after the Chicago Convention: —

"I see before me a good many soldiers—bullet-stoppers and shell-arresters from 1861 to 1865. I don't need to tell them anything about the old Black Eagle of Illinois, who commanded the 15th corps. If there is a man in my hearing who wore the corps badge, the 'cartridge-box and forty rounds,' he would say, 'You can't tell me anything about General Logan that I don't know better than you!' . . . Since the war, nearly all of his time has been spent in Congress, and how spent? To know how a goodly part of it has been spent, ask the man who has an empty sleeve, the flesh, bone, and muscles that should fill it being buried with scores of others at the foot of some amputating table in one of the field hospitals of Gettysburg or the Wilderness! Ask the men you see every day in our streets who try to make two sticks take the place of the leg lost at Cold Harbor or Fort Hell! Ask the widow who regularly receives her quarterly allowance from the most beneficent government the world ever saw in its treatment of its unfortunate defenders. Ask the soldier who, by the mercy of God, lived through Andersonville, and still has his reason left. Yes, ask any of those what Logan has done in Congress, and they will all, with one accord, invoke the blessings of Heaven upon

John A. Logan for the efforts he has put forth and is still putting forth in their behalf. Ask the millions of colored voters at the South, who, remembering the political rights accorded to them by the Constitution and laws, cry out in their anguish, 'We asked of you bread, and you have given us a stone.' 'You promised us the ballot, but Danville and Hamburgh reply with the bullet.' They remember that Logan's voice has failed them not wherever he could champion their cause. Have I answered who General John A. Logan is? Fit comrade for our Plumed Knight, our Henry of Navarre, our James G. Blaine! Let them be associated. The statesman, scholar, and the soldier-statesman, Blaine and Logan!"

Logan has always been a leader in securing pension legislation; he was one of the most urgent advocates of the arrears of pension bill, and he has never failed at a meeting of Congress to present a bill for the equalization of bounties. He now has a measure to pension every man who saw active service in the war, and veterans who vote cannot forget how, regardless of time, trouble, and expense, he has corresponded with them, and urged their cases to prompt settlement; nor how no crippled soldier, or soldier's widow, or orphan has ever applied to him for help, so far as it was possible for him to help, in vain.

General Logan is a prominent figure at military

reunions, and he was one of the founders of the Grand Army of the Republic, which originated at Decatur, Illinois. He was the first National Commander of that organization, and as such issued the order, in 1868, for the decoration of the graves of Union soldiers the 30th of May.

LOGAN AND THE SOUTHERN SOLDIERS.

It is a fact not known to all, that some of the hardest fighters of the North have a multitude of ardent admirers in the South, and Logan is one of them. The following account of his kindness to a Southern soldier is told by a Mississippi newspaper, the *Natchez Crusader:*—

During the dark days of reconstruction, we think it was in 1868, the month of June, three gentlemen sat on the porch of a private boarding-house in Michigan avenue, Washington city. As they sat together in low and earnest conversation, an old man in worn, but once respectable garments, lame and hobbling on a crutch, paused directly in front of the trio and glanced searchingly in the faces of all three. There was an expression in the upturned countenance of the old man too readily defined —a look of weariness—an air, in fact, of present poverty, that could not be misunderstood by the group.

"Can I do anything for you, my man?" asked the senior of the trio, attentively regarding the stationary figure in his front.

"I think, not, sir," was the quick response.

"Where did you get that lame leg?" inquired the first speaker.

"At Chickamauga."

"On what side?"

"Your side, if you are a Southerner," rejoined the old man, leaning wearily on his crutch.

"Not mine, friend," said the gentleman; "I belonged to the other side."

"That makes a big difference," remarked the crippled stranger. "I was about to ask you for a favor, but you live on the wrong side of the house."

"What can I do for you, old man?" still urged the gentleman with quiet gravity.

"Well, I may as well tell you as any one else. I am a stranger in this city, and trying to get out of it. I have a home in the far South, and enough to live on when I get there. I ran out of money in Baltimore, and was brought here by the kindness of the conductor on the train."

"Have you no money now?"

"I expected a remittance of twenty-five dollars from home when I reached this place—but it has not arrived."

"Well, you shall not go home on your crutches if I can help it," and the gentleman produced his pocket-book and counted six $5 bills in the palm of the stranger.

"It is too much! I dislike to take it!" exclaimed the old man, grateful and astonished.

"Keep it—you are welcome to it," persisted the gentleman.

"I thank you—a thousand times!" said the old man. "When I get home I will return every cent of it. Your name—for I want to remember it and honor it as long as I live."

"Never mind that, old man. If you have enough, as you say, to live on in your far-away Southern home, and if you should ever meet in that home a boy in blue in such trouble as you are to-day, just hand him the little amount I gave you now, and say no more about it."

The man who sent one of our own dear boys—a poor Confederate—on his way rejoicing, was General John Alexander Logan, noted, if some of our exchanges are to be his judges, for merciless treatment of Southern soldiers!

LOGAN AND HIS CONSTITUENTS.

If any one wishes to know whether Logan is liked by his constituents, let him go among them and speak abusively of him. The frowns he will receive will raise the query in his mind as to whether it is not advisable to hasten from the soil of Illinois to escape a coat of tar and feathers.

The visit of about 150 members of the Illinois Republican Association to Logan during the week following his nomination at Chicago, and his reply to their greeting, indicate the sincere attachment between him and his

constituents. President Deland presented the members of the Association, and then General Logan said:

"*Mr. President and Fellow-Citizens of Illinois:* I welcome you heartily and tender you my sincere thanks for the expression of good-will manifested to-night in this voluntary visit. It is pleasant at all times to meet with one's co-workers, and it is especially so to meet with those with whom our labors have been most immediately cast. Born and reared in the State of Illinois, a flood of personal and agreeable recollections rushes upon me as I behold your familiar faces. Some of you stood with me as boys upon the shore of life's great ocean, panting with eagerness to explore the inviting but untried expanse before you. Some of you were side by side with me when our young manhood, full of vigor and latent possibilities, began the struggle with forbidding fortune, and in the face of obstacles which magnified and ennobled your subsequent success. With some of you I have rejoiced in the accomplishment of objects for which we have striven, and with some of you I have grieved over the non-fruition of your best-grounded hopes. With all of you I have been closely associatied during some portion of our respective careers, and can dwell with gratification over the retrospect of our personal acquaintances —a retrospect which, while full of pleasure, should not fail to remind us that, though we have passed the heyday of youth, and are standing under the more subdued light

of middle age, we are still in the prime of usefulness, and with life's mission still unfulfilled. Some of you that are here have come upon the field of labor at a more recent period, but are no less my friends and fellow-laborers. To one and all of you, gentlemen, I desire to manifest my deep appreciation of the spirit which prompts your visit at this time, and to extend the hand of fellowship and of hearty greeting to my friends of Illinois here assembled."

He has been indefatigable in the promotion of the welfare of Illinois while in Congress, and his constituents appreciate the service he has rendered.

LOGAN AND THE LABORING MAN.

Like his father, Senator Logan is characterized by sympathy for the common people, and the poor man is as welcome at his door as he who comes "clad in purple and fine linen," and his cause is held even more sacred.

Irish blood is in his veins, and his efforts to redress wrong done to that race gives him the grateful regard of Irishmen. No man stands better with the working classes than he. Says the St. Louis *Mining News:* "Senator Logan expended $50,000 in trying to develop coal in Illinois. Though the venture was unsuccessful, the Senator did not mourn the loss of the money, because the mining people got it. He is the advocate of laws for the protection of the lives of miners while under-

ground; and he would receive the miner's vote, which is a big thing in this country." Says the Springfield *Monitor*, of his own State: "To see John A. Logan (at Carbondale) with a wide-brimmed straw hat, blue woolen shirt, and butternut pants on, astride of his favorite 'Dolly,' going backward and forward to his wheat-fields, and while there taking a hand 'shocking' after his twine-binders, is a sight which every constituency of Senators is not permitted to witness. After a hard day's work in the field with the boys, he lies on the grass with them in the evening, while lemonade is freely passed around, and all hands join in discussing the news of the day. This is John A. Logan at home; and yet some people wonder why it is that he has such a hold on the boys." A farmer himself, he knows what legislation the farmers need, and does his best to secure it for them, whether through protection or otherwise. Says another Illinois newspaper, the Jonesboro *Gazette:* "He is in favor of improving the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers, and making them the great thoroughfares by which our grain can be sent to the European markets. He also favors a ship canal from Chicago to the Mississippi River." In consequence of his attitude on these questions he is very popular throughout the Mississippi Valley States. That he is the friend of the colored man is to be learned almost everywhere in his speeches and votes from that July day in 1865, when, at the court-house of Louisville,

he made an impassioned plea for the emancipation of the slaves and the consent of Kentucky to the constitutional amendment prohibiting slavery and involuntary servitude, down to the present time.

LOGAN'S RELATIONS TO BLAINE.

"I most heartily congratulate you on your nomination. You will be elected. Your friend."

Such was the dispatch sent by John A. Logan to James G. Blaine, when the nomination of the latter for the Presidency was made on Friday, June 6, 1884. It has been said that Blaine owes his nomination to Logan, and it is certain that Logan told his friends in the convention he wished that if at any time it should appear that Mr. Blaine could be nominated by them, that his supporters should so vote.

A perfect understanding existed between the two men, and the intimacy of their relations is indicated by the early appearance of Senator Logan at the Blaine homestead in Augusta after the Chicago Convention. When the "Flying Yankee" rolled from Portland toward the Kennebec, on Monday, June 6, 1884, it was known to few that Senator Logan, accompanied by Senator Hale and others, was on board, but he was expected at Augusta, and warmly welcomed by the people as well as by the Blaine household.

In the evening a crowd gathered about the Blaine

mansion, and, introduced by Governor Connor as "him of the eagle eye and lion heart," Logan spoke as follows:

"Ladies, gentlemen, and comrades: I most fully appreciate this kind compliment to-night. I am truly glad to meet so many citizens of Augusta. I left the city of Washington yesterday with our friend Senator Hale of this State, to make a little visit to his house and tarry over night with one of the great citizens of the United States.

"I must confess that I feel embarrassed in attempting to say anything after listening to what has been said by Governor Connor. It is true that soldiers of Maine in the same great contest stood side by side with those from all other parts of the country, and did their duty for the preservation of this great nation. It was preserved by their energy, their patriotism and prowess. Behind them stood loyal citizens of this great Republic, giving them their support and prayers, with their hearts full of hope for their success, and, as liberty first found birth on the Atlantic slope, well may it there have found true hearts for the preservation, not only of this country, but that liberty which God intended for all men. Let that which followed as the result, its preservation, not now be lost. This can only be done by keeping the control of the institutions of this country in the hands of those who sought to maintain them. This people believed in the fundamental principles of republican government, which

is that the will of the people shall control. The same rule also applies in their selection of agents for administration of the government. The voice of the great majority of republicans of this mighty nation has chosen as the standard-bearer of that great party in the coming contest for the Presidency of the United States, your fellow-citizen, James G. Blaine, and you need have no fear as to the result. This contest will be a glorious victory, full and complete. Illinois in 1860 gave to this country the first republican President. Maine was then associated with Illinois. In 1884 Maine will give as gallant a President to this Republic as has been elected by this people.

"Citizens of Maine: I feel honored and complimented by being associated on a ticket with a man worthy of the confidence of the people, and in every way capable of filling the high office of President with honor to himself and to the country. I thank you, and bid you good night."

The journey of Blaine and Logan through Maine together awakened great enthusiasm among the people, and in a speech delivered after his return to Washington, when serenaded on June 21st, Senator Logan said:

"The standard-bearer of the party in the ensuing campaign is the Hon. James G. Blaine, known throughout the land as one of its truest and ablest representatives. He has been called to this position by the voice of the

people, in recognition of his especial fitness for the trust, and in admiration of the surprising combination of brilliancy, courage, faithfulness, persistency, and research that has made him one of the most remarkable figures which has appeared upon the forum of state-craft in any period of this country; that such a man should have enemies and detractors is as natural as that our best fruits should be infested with parasites or that there should exist small and envious minds which seek to belittle that which they can never hope to imitate or equal, and that he shall triumph over these and lead the Republican hearts to another victory in November is as certain as the succession of the seasons or the rolling of the spheres in their courses. Gentlemen, again I thank you for this visit of congratulation, and extend to you, one and all, my grateful acknowledgments."

Chairman Henderson and the members of the committee charged with the duty of notifying the candidates of their nomination, met at Washington on June 24th, and formally notified General Logan of his nomination for Vice-President.

LOGAN'S REPLY.

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee:—I receive you visit with pleasure, and accept with gratitude the sentiments you have so generously expressed in the discharge of the duty with which you

have been intrusted by the National Republican Convention. Intending to address you a formal communication shortly, in accordance with the recognized usage, it would be out of place to detain you at this time with remarks which properly belong to the official utterances of a letter of acceptance. I may be permitted to say, however, that though I did not seek the nomination of Vice-President, I accept it as a trust reposed in me by the Republican party, to the advancement of whose broad policy, upon all questions connected with the progress of our government and our people, I have dedicated my best energies, and with this acceptance I may properly signify my approval of the platform of principles adopted by the convention. I am deeply sensible of the honor conferred upon me by my friends in so unanimously tendering me this nomination, and I sincerely thank them for this tribute. I am not unmindful of the great responsibilities attaching to the office, and if elected I shall enter upon the performance of its duties with the firm conviction that he who has such a unanimous support of his party friends as the circumstances connected with the nomination and your own words, Mr. Chairman, indicate, and consequently such a wealth of counsel to draw upon, cannot fall in the proper discharge of the duties committed to him. I tender you my thanks, Mr. Chairman, for the kind expressions you have made, and I offer you and your fellow committeemen my most cordial greeting."

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES AND ITS HISTORY.

Preliminaries to the Struggle for Independence.—The Convention of 1765.—Articles of Confederation.—The "Declaration of Rights" and other Papers.—The Continental Congress.—Work of the Committee of Five.—The Beginning of the War.—Minute-men.—Washington's Statesmanship.—Formation of the Constitution.—Opposition to its Adoption.—The Bulwark of the Republic.—Text of the Constitution.—Views of the Statesmen Concerning it.—Amendments and Their History.—How the Amendments were Ratified.

In the middle of the last century the acts of oppression on the part of Great Britain towards the American colonies became so numerous as to excite general indignation. Public meetings were held to denounce the conduct of the mother country, organizations of "Sons of Liberty" were formed throughout the colonies, the popular sentiment was displayed in various ways, and when on the first of November, 1765, the odious Stamp Act was to take effect there were no officials bold enough to execute the laws. The stamps were seized and burned

on their arrival, the distributors were openly insulted, and it was determined to celebrate the first of November as a day of Humiliation.

There was a general desire for united action among the colonies, and a convention or congress was proposed. Several colonies appointed delegates who met in New York on the 7th of October, 1765, and remained in session fourteen days. Their deliberations resulted in three ably-written documents in which were set forth the grievances of the colonists and the rights they claimed, together with a petition that the king and parliament would redress the former and acknowledge the latter. The first paper was *A Declaration of Rights* prepared by John Cruger of New York, the second *A Memorial to Both Houses of Parliament* by Robert R. Livingston of New York, and the third and last was *A Petition to the King* by James Otis of Massachusetts.

The government of Great Britain refused all application for a redress of the grievances of the colonies. Troops were sent to awe the people into subjection, and not only were the odious laws enforced, but additional ones were enacted. The assemblies of New York and Massachusetts refused shelter and food for the troops that were quartered upon them, and this led to open collisions; then followed many acts of insubordination, prominent among them being the famous "Boston Tea-Party", and the consequent closing of the port when the act occurred.

Another Congress was summoned and met in Philadelphia on the 5th of September, 1774. It was known as the FIRST CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, and included delegates from all the colonies except Georgia. Again were the grievances of the people set forth, and with the same result as before. The Congress adjourned to meet on the 10th of the following May, and there was a universal feeling that if Great Britain continued stubborn war would be inevitable.

Before Congress met again, pursuant to adjournment, it became known that the requests of the colonists had been refused, and preparations were made for the impending hostilities. Military companies and regiments were organized, men were drilled in exercises with weapons of war; the manufacture of arms, ammunition, and military equipments was encouraged, and especially in the New England States the citizens were enrolled in companies prepared to go to the field at a moment's warning. For this reason they were known as *minute-men;* their organization was encouraged by their wives and daughters, who assisted in the preparations. It was said that in Massachusetts alone thirty thousand men were ready to go to the field whenever wanted.

The war came with all its horrors. The far-seeing leaders recognized the necessity of a unity of action among the colonies, and for this purpose "*Articles of Confederation*" were prepared; the outline of these

articles was submitted to the Continental Congress in July, 1775, by Dr. Franklin, with the suggestion that they should cease to be in force as soon as there was a reconciliation between Great Britain and the colonies, but in the failure of such reconciliation their action should be perpetual.

No decisive action was taken until the following year, when a declaration of independence became necessary.

On the 11th of June, 1776, Congress resolved that a committee should be appointed, to consist of one delegate from each state, to draft and digest articles of confederation by which all the colonies should be bound and controlled during the period of war. A draft was reported on the 12th of July of the same year.

The articles of confederation were discussed for a month or more, and were then laid aside until April, 1777. In the meantime several of the states had formed their constitutions and practically acknowledged Congress to be the supreme head of affairs in war, finance, etc. From April until November the articles were discussed, and on the 15th of the latter month they were adopted and submitted to the States for ratification. Some of the State legislatures made objections, and the final adoption did not take place until four years and four months after the draft had been submitted. These articles of confederation formed the basis of the CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES, and remained in force until after the end of the Revolution, the signing of the

treaty of peace, and the evacuation of the country by the British army.

It was proposed by some of the statesmen of that time that the articles of confederation should be continued, and form the constitution of the nation. This was opposed on account of several glaring defects that had become manifest during the progress of the war. General Washington was one the first to see the necessity of a new organization, and at his suggestion a convention was called for the purpose of consulting on the best means of remedying the evil then existing. This convention assembled at Annapolis, Maryland, in September, 1786, but only five States, Virginia, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York, had sent delegates. Owing to the small representation no action was taken beyond suggesting the appointment of delegates to a larger convention in the following year.

The report was sent to Congress, and in February 1787, that body passed a resolution recommending the legislatures to appoint delegates to a constitutional convention which should meet on the second Monday in May of that year. The proposal met with favor, and at the time designated the convention assembled, all the States being represented except New Hampshire and Rhode Island. Various plans were proposed, and after long and sometimes angry debates the convention referred all reports, propositions, and resolutions to a committee of five. Ten

days later this committee reported a rough draft of the instrument by which the country should be governed for the future.

More debates followed, and then the draft of the Constitution was referred to the various legislatures with the request that it be submitted to a convention of delegates from all the States. It was vigorously supported by many of the great minds of the day, and as vigorously opposed by others. Eleven States assembled in convention, and supported and ratified the new Constitution; Congress then fixed the time for choosing electors for President and Vice-President, and provided for the organization of the new government. The old CONTINENTAL CONGRESS expired on the fourth of March, 1789, and the National Constitution became the basis on which should rest the great Republic of the Western World.

Thus was crowned the glorious work of the War for Independence, and thus was begun the magnificent career of one of the foremost nations of the globe.

THE NATIONAL CONSTITUTION.

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1. All the legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SEC. 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand; but each State shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SEC. 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at

the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant for that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president pro tempore, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments: when sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath, or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States: but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

SEC. 4. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SEC. 5. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the at-

tendance of absent members, in such manner and under such penalties as each house may provide.

Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secresy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses may be sittting.

SEC. 6. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

SEC. 7. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the President of the United States: if he approve he shall sign it, but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, which shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such

reconsideration, two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sunday excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment), shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SEC. 8. The Congress shall have power—

To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises; to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

To establish post-offices and post-roads;

To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the law of nations;

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

To raise and support armies; but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

To provide and maintain a navy;

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrection, and repel invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States—reserving to the States, respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings;—and

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SEC. 9. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* shall be passed.

No capitation, or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States: and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

SEC. 10. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws: and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships-of-war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such eminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

SECTION 1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

Each State shall appoint in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

[The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said house shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States—the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.]

The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors,

and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services, a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath of affirmation:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SEC. 2. The President shall be commander in chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

He shall have power by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators

present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein hitherto provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SEC. 3. He shall from time to time give to the congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SEC. 4. The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes or misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

SECTION 1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges both of the Supreme and inferior courts shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SEC. 2. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction;

to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizen of another State; between Citizens of different States; between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens or subjects.

In all cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, those in which a State shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SEC. 3. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort.

No person shall be convicted of treason, unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION 1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SEC. 2. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State,

shall on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof escaping to another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

SEC. 3. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the Territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SEC. 4. The Constitution shall guarantee to every State in the Union a Republican form of Government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the Legislature, or of the executive (when the Legislature can not be convened) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislature of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of

the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in convention by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the United States the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.

GEO. WASHINGTON,
President, and Deputy from Virginia.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.
John Langdon,
Nicholas Gilman.

MASSACHUSETTS.
Nathaniel Gorham,
Rufus King.

CONNECTICUT.
Wm. Samuel Johnson,
Roger Sherman.

NEW YORK.
Alexander Hamilton.

NEW JERSEY.
William Livingston,
David Brearley,
William Paterson,
Jonathan Dayton.

PENNSYLVANIA.
Benjamin Franklin,
Thomas Mifflin,
Robert Morris,
George Clymer,
Thomas Fitzsimons,
Jared Ingersoll,
James Wilson,
Gouverneur Morris.

DELAWARE.
George Reed,
Gunning Bedford, Jr.,
John Dickinson,
Richard Bassett,
Jacob Broom.

MARYLAND.
James M'Henry,
Daniel of St. Thomas
Jenifer,
Daniel Carroll.

VIRGINIA.
John Blair,
James Madison, Jr.

NORTH CAROLINA.
William Blount,
Rich'd Dobbs Spaight,
Hugh Williamson.

SOUTH CAROLINA.
Charles C. Pinckney,
Charles Pinckney,
John Rutledge,
Pierce Butler.

GEORGIA.
William Few,
Abraham Baldwin.

Attest: WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary.*

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

At the first session of the first Congress in New York, March, 1779, many amendments to the National Constitution were proposed. Congress submitted ten of them to the legislatures of the States, and they were ratified, in accordance with the Fifth Article of the Constitution, by the end of 1791. The eleventh amendment was proposed in 1794, and ratified in 1798; the twelfth amendment was proposed in 1803, and ratified in the following year.

In 1810 Congress proposed an amendment prohibiting any citizen of the United States from receiving or accepting any title of nobility or honor, or any present, pension, office, or emolument

of any kind whatever, from any "person, king, prince, or foreign power," without the consent of Congress, under penalty of disfranchisement or ceasing to be a citizen of the United States. This proposed amendment was never ratified.

The thirteenth amendment was proposed by Congress in 1865, and ratified in the same year by the requisite number of States. The fourteenth amendment was proposed in 1866, and was intended to complete the work of the thirteenth. Two years later it had received the requisite number of votes in its favor to make it a part of the Constitution.

The fifteenth amendment was submitted to the legislatures of the States by resolution of Congress in February, 1869, and ratified by the necessary number of States in the early part of 1870. One State, New Jersey, ratified it nearly a year after the proclamation of the Secretary of State announcing that it had become a part of the Constitution

AMENDMENTS.

ARTICLE I.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II.

A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III.

No soldier shall in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV.

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable

cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the person or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI.

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

ARTICLE VII.

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX.

The enumeration, in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X.

The powers not delegated to the United States, by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI.

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

ARTICLE XII.

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate;—The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;—the person having the grestest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of

choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII.

SECTION 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or in any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SEC. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV.

SECTION 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the law.

SEC. 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed; but when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to

any of the male inhabitants of such State, (being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States,) or in any way abridged except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

SEC. 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or Elector, or President, or Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof; but Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

SEC. 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties, for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned; but neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss of or emancipation of any slave. But all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SEC. 5. Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV.

SECTION 1. The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

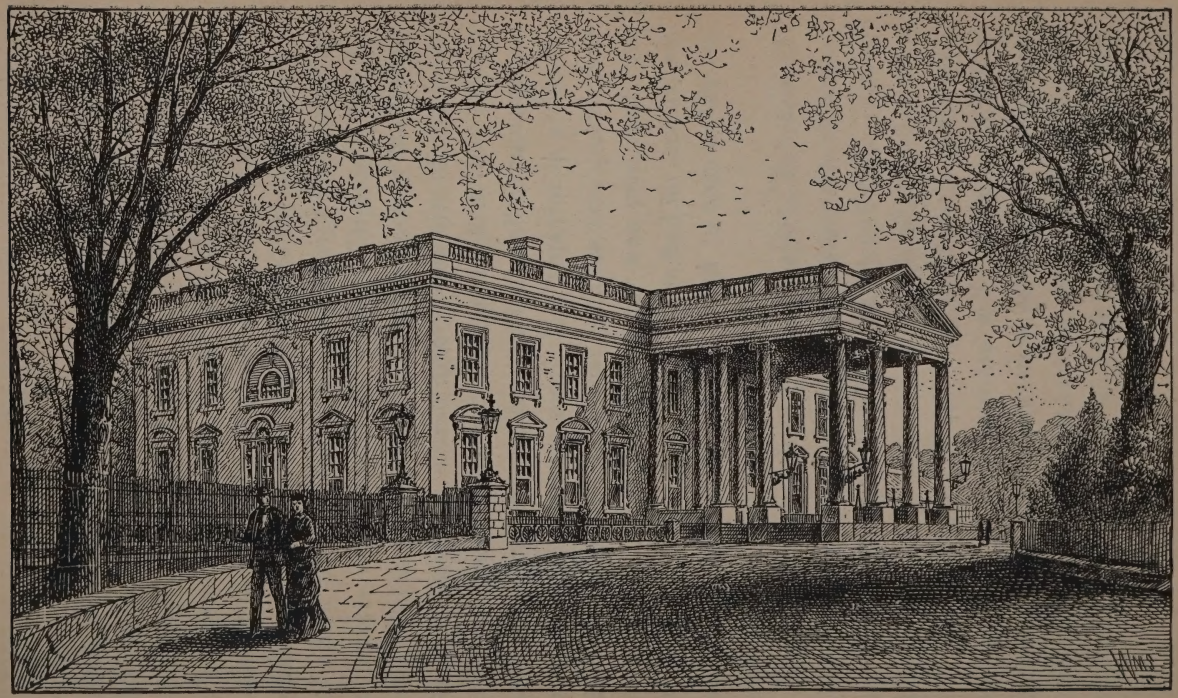
CHAPTER XXIV.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES—SKETCH OF HIS LIFE AND ADMINISTRATION.

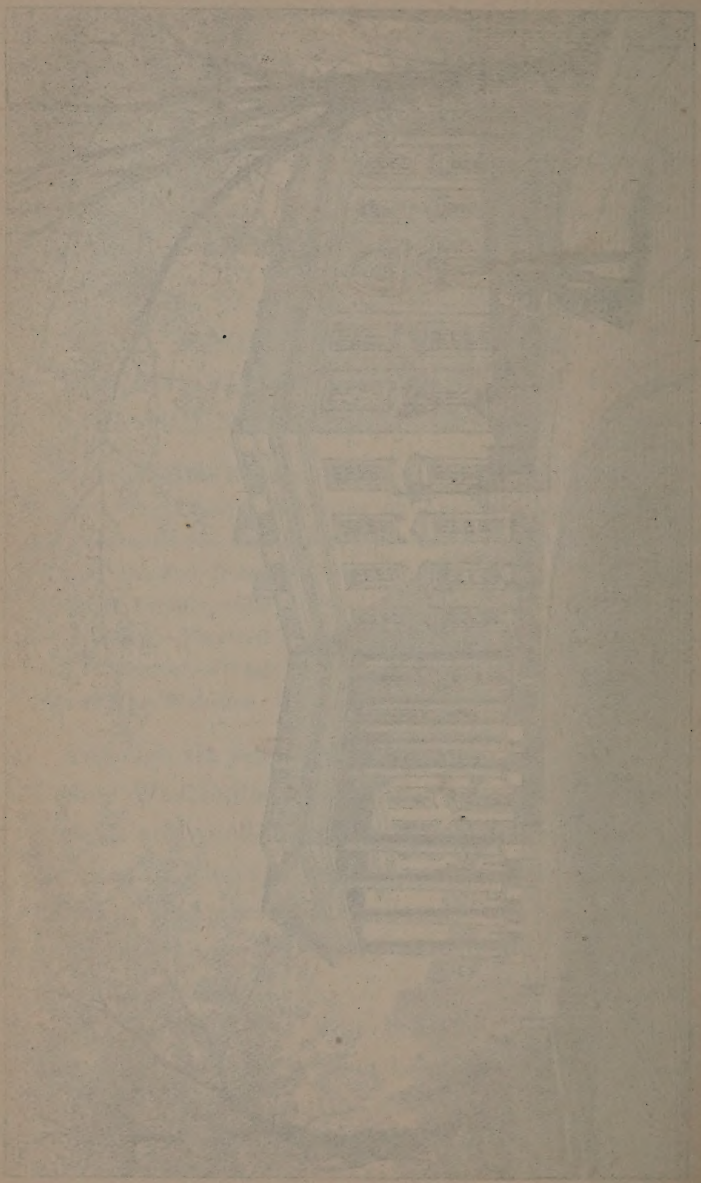
His Remarkable Modesty.—Opposed to Slavery Although a Slaveholder.—The Country Bordering on Anarchy.—Quarrels Between the Federalists and Anti-Federalists.—Not a Partisan Himself.—His Virtues Derived from His Mother.—Mount Vernon an Inheritance from His Brother.—His Sense of Justice.—Love of Truth and Personal Honor.—Farewell Address to His Army.—His Admirably Balanced Character.—Washington's Cabinet.—His Retirement to Private Life at Most Welcome.

Although six years elapsed between the resignation of George Washington as Commander-in-Chief of the continental army and his inauguration as first President of the United States, there was never any doubt in the minds of the mass of his fellow-countrymen that, whatever form the new executive office might take, he would be called upon to fill it.

No American has ever been so distinctly the first citizen of his country, albeit he was at the time the central figure of a group of men more remarkable as a



THE WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON.—HOME OF THE PRESIDENTS.
(From a photograph made by the U. S. Government.)



group, perhaps, than any the nation has since produced. His successors, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and James Monroe, were his contemporaries, co-laborers, and friends in the difficult initial years of national life; and he had beside, to aid in his cabinet counsels, men of such distinguished ability as Alexander Hamilton of New York; General Henry Knox of Massachusetts, and Edmund Randolph of Virginia. But the power which made Washington preëminently the leader, resulted from the extraordinary equipoise of the traits of his character. A better-balanced man has seldom been born; and everywhere, and under all circumstances, this peculiar evenness made him superior in action to men whose purely intellectual qualities were greater than his. To his strength of character was principally due Washington's grand success; for he had no unusual advantages in his childhood and youth to open to him an easy road to fame.

Born in Westmoreland County, Virginia, February 22, 1732, George was the second and younger son of Augustine Washington and Mary Ball, his second wife. Augustine Washington was a man of considerable landed property, as were most of the Virginia country gentlemen. As the laws of primogeniture were yet in force at that period, his elder son, Lawrence, received far more benefit from his father's means than did George, whose sole education was gained at the neighboring schools, consist-

ing mainly of the three essentials, reading, writing, and arithmetic. To these, he himself contrived to add book-keeping and surveying, for which he had a special aptitude, and which, later in life, served him in excellent stead. All the anecdotes of his childhood and youth show that he early developed the keen sense of justice, the high regard for truth and deep sense of personal honor which distinguished him until his death. As a lad, he was a noted athlete, a bold and graceful rider, and did well whatever he undertook. His father, Augustine Washington, died when George was nine years old, leaving the estate of Mount Vernon, on the Potomac River, to the elder son Lawrence. George, being a great favorite with his elder brother, thereafter spent much of his time at Mount Vernon, so that his early as well as his late years are associated with the pleasant old homestead. It was at one time intended that George should enter the navy; but, in deference to his mother's strong opposition, he gave up the idea, and devoted himself most earnestly to the study and practice of surveying, which he proposed to make his profession.

It is declared that George Washington inherited from his mother—as many other great men are thought to have done—those qualities of mind and character which made him great. Mrs. Washington was a woman of vigorous intellect and indomitable will, with a strong sense of right and wrong; and a deep determination to make up

in the training of her son, George, so far as possible, for the early loss of his father. So well did she succeed in her efforts that, almost before he had reached manhood, he was quite fitted to take a man's part in life. When George was barely nineteen, he received the appointment of Adjutant, with the rank of Major, in the military service of Virginia, which, in anticipation of the beginning of the French and Indian war, was mobilizing as rapidly as possible the troops at command. For a short time, he served with credit; but was soon compelled to resign, in order to accompany his brother Lawrence to Barbadoes in search of his swiftly-failing health. The trip failed of its purpose, and Lawrence returned to die at Mount Vernon in the following year, 1752. In the event of the death of his infant daughter, which very shortly took place, Lawrence Washington bequeathed Mount Vernon to his beloved brother George, and it was ever after his home and favorite residence.

At this juncture the difficulties of the French and Indian troubles became so great that Washington was entrusted with a delicate mission to the French commander, which he performed with such skill, in the face of such dangers and disasters, that he became almost instantly famous. Offered the colonelcy of a new regiment, he modestly declined it, accepting the lieutenant-colonelcy instead; but, in consequence of the death of the colonel, he was soon after compelled to fill the

position he had previously declined. He continued in the army, serving with ability, though not always with success, for five years, until the fall of Fort Duquesne, and the expulsion of the French from the Ohio valley practically closed the war, and gave him an opportunity to resign with honor, in order to return to the country life he preferred. Another fact, which doubtless influenced his decision more than he chose to admit, was that he had fallen in love with a charming widow, Mrs. Martha Custis, to whom he was married—the marriage proved happy, but childless—on January 17, 1759, in the twenty-seventh year of his age. Having been trained by his mother in admirable habits of thrift and management, he had already been enabled to considerably increase the property left him by his father and his brother, and during the few years of his retirement at Mount Vernon, he increased it still further. Although a slave-holder, as were all the property owners of his day, he was sincerely opposed to the institution; neither bought nor sold slaves, and declared in his will that he would gladly manumit all of his, but for the complications which would arise in connection with those inherited by his wife, and which could not be freed until her death. So considerate a master was he that he abandoned the cultivation of tobacco, chiefly because he believed it to be injurious to the hands who raised it.

Washington was not one of those who early desired a

rupture with England; but when convinced that the Colonies could not get justice from the home government, he became an ardent patriot, and was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Revolutionary army on June 15th, 1775, two months after the first shot had been fired at Concord. Probably, no commander ever entered a war, conducted and conquered it, who was so ill prepared in every material way. His troops were inexperienced, ill clothed, ill fed, ill paid, if they chanced to be paid at all; he was himself unaccustomed to handle large bodies of troops, nor had any of his assistant-commanders greater experience on which he might draw. He had to conduct his campaigns over a large area of country against an enemy superior in everything but pluck and principle. He had private enmity and public opposition to encounter; but he patiently, hopefully, and skillfully carried the conflict to a successful close. On December 23, 1783, he made a most beautiful parting address to his army, unbuckled his sword, and returned to his farming on the Potomac.

For some years succeeding the close of the Revolution, the United States were in a condition bordering on anarchy. The country experienced a strong sense of relief when a preliminary convention at Annapolis in 1787, assembled to consider the generally hopeless condition, called another and more important convention in the following May at Philadelphia. It was at this con-

vention that the Constitution of the United States was framed and adopted; and it was immediately after, that George Washington was elected President and John Adams Vice-President of the then infant country. In view of the importance with which the vote of the State of New York is now regarded in Presidential elections, it is a curious historical fact that New York was the only State that cast no vote at the first election of Washington. It was apparently from mere want of interest in the new constitutional government that New York neglected so important a duty. In Washington's first cabinet sat Thomas Jefferson as Secretary of State; Alexander Hamilton as Secretary of the Treasury; Henry Knox as Secretary of War, and Edmund Randolph as Attorney-General; and the administration opened with brilliant promise. It was not long, however, before the interests of the Federalists and anti-Federalists began to clash in the persons of their leaders in the cabinet,—Hamilton and Knox on the former side, Jefferson and Randolph on the latter. President Washington carried himself with great tact between the opposing factions, although his personal leanings were slightly toward the Federalists; but they ultimately dismembered his cabinet, depriving him of the strong support he had relied on, and toward the latter years of his second term, despoiling him of much of his popularity. Washington had not desired a reëlection, and only con-

sented to a second term at the most earnest solicitation of men whose advice he felt bound to take. There can be no doubt that he welcomed the day of his permanent return to Mount Vernon. He lived three years after his retirement from the Presidency, and died at Mount Vernon of an attack of acute laryngitis after twenty-four hours of illness, on December 14, 1799, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

CHAPTER XXV.

JOHN ADAMS, SECOND PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Not by any Means so Popular as His Predecessor.—Elected by Three Votes Only.—The Country Beginning to be an Independant Nation.—Commencing Life as a School Teacher.—His Wife a Remarkable Woman.—Adams a Vigorous Speaker and Pointed Writer of Choleric Temper.—Bitter Hostility Between Parties.—Employed on Delicate Missions.—Extremely Active in Political Life.—One of the First to See a Final Rupture with the Mother Country Inevitable.

When John Adams, the second President, succeeded Washington in the executive chair on March 4, 1797, he was by no means the unanimous choice of the people his predecessor had been. Indeed, his election was secured by only three votes more than Thomas Jefferson, his most powerful rival of the opposition, received. As the custom then prevailed of the candidate receiving the second largest vote becoming Vice-President, Jefferson assumed that office, and the anomalous spectacle was presented of a President and Vice-President of opposing

political parties. During the eight years of Washington's administration, the United States had been gradually and surely taking on the characteristics of an independent nation, although a nation so young as not to have arranged its domestic economies, or adjusted its foreign relations. As the sense of general security increased, factional and sectional differences were greatly augmented, because the leading men had then more time and attention to give to secondary matters. Therefore, although John Adams found an organized body politic where Washington found chaos, he also met internal dissension, intense personal enmities, and European complications that rendered the Presidency anything but desirable to any one who was not a strong man and a true patriot. Both of these Adams unquestionably was.

Born in that portion of the old town of Braintree, now known as Quincy, Massachusetts, on the 30th of October, 1735, he was the eldest son of John Adams, an estimable farmer of limited means. Possessed by the characteristic New England desire for education, the father did his best for the son, who was graduated from Harvard College in 1755. Like many who have become famous in the history of this country, he began his practical life, after leaving college, by teaching school, at Worcester, Massachusetts. Having exceptional intellectual power, and a lively ambition, the atmosphere of a grammar school neither suited nor satisfied young John; and in

the hope of opening a new path to fame and fortune, he began, while still teaching, the study of law. He had thought of becoming a clergyman, but witnessing certain church quarrels in his native town, he was, to quote his own words, "terrified out of it." He would have been glad to enter the army, had he possessed the influence to secure a commission. That being out of the question, the law seemed his only resource, and he applied himself with such energy to it, that in two years he began to practice in Boston, at the Suffolk County Bar. Before very long he had built up a practice which, as he considered, justified him in marrying, and, accordingly, in 1764, he united himself to Abigail Smith, the daughter of a prominent clergyman of Weymouth. This union, which at the time it took place, promised to bring young Adams considerable worldly advantage, his wife's family connections being much more prominent and prosperous than his own, proved in every way to be most fortunate. Abigail Adams was one of the most remarkable women of the Revolutionary period. Her qualities so admirably supplemented her husband's, and her nature so thoroughly assimilated with his that the marriage not only brought him personal happiness, but it enabled him to grasp all of the great opportunities which later crowded his life. Wherever and whenever his public duties rendered it necessary for him to neglect his private duties, his wife more than made good the neglect. With less of the

womanly softness and charm of her successor in the White House, pretty Dolly Madison, Abigail Adams had a strength of character and a vigor of mind that found full vent in the troublous times in which she lived. She was so true a helpmate that wherever his life is told, hers should not be omitted.

The early shadows of the Revolution were beginning to fall when John Adams was married; and the agitation of the Stamp Act called him to the political front in his native town. He was appointed junior counsel with Jeremiah Gridley and James Otis, to present a memorial to the Governor and Council praying that the courts might conduct their business without the use of stamps. From that time on, Adams was continually in public and political life until he retired from the Presidency in 1801. He held many offices, beginning with that of Representative to the General Court (Legislature), ardently working with tongue and pen for what he believed to be the best good of the country. He was a vigorous speaker; a terse and pointed though not eloquent writer; and being naturally somewhat pugnacious, he found plenty of occasion for the use of his best ability.

As the difficulties with the mother country increased, and the future of the colonies became more uncertain, Adams was one of the first to conclude that a final rupture was inevitable; and as soon as he had come to this conclusion, threw himself with all the ardor and energy

of his nature into the work of preparing the country for the impending conflict. It was mainly through his efforts that the important Congress of 1775, which sent a final petition for rights to King George III, also passed a bill to put the colonies in a state of defence, in the event of the threatened war. It was he also who perceived the importance of making Washington Commander-in-Chief, although he suggested it rather from the politic motive of binding the Southern States to the interests of the Revolution, than because he then regarded him as the greatest colonial General. About this time, some of his private letters, full of candid expressions concerning men and measures, fell into hands for which they were not intended, and their publication caused considerable excitement, and aroused some distrust of him, though not enough to compel him in any way to abandon his public career. Indeed, throughout his life Adams' inclination to unwise letter-writing frequently got him into trouble, and finally sent him out of the Presidential office under an unhappy cloud.

When the Revolution was finally entered upon, Adams and Jefferson were appointed a committee to draw up articles of war to govern the army; but the principal labor of preparation fell upon Adams, as did also the work of getting the necessary legislation in Congress, the latter being by far the harder part. In spite of the impulsiveness of his acts, and the frequent intemperance

of his speech, Adams' opinion and advice were constantly in demand, and he was ever one of the foremost figures of that important period. His really clear head and integrity of purpose were always patent, and he was called upon to fill the most important positions. He was sent to Paris on the delicate mission of securing the alliance of France for the revolting colonies; to England to treat for peace and negotiate a commercial treaty; to Holland to raise a loan for the almost bankrupt States. His services in Europe were so important to his country that he was kept there in one and another capacity for fully ten years, closing his career there, at last, in the capacity of Minister to the Court of St. James. Almost immediately upon his return to America, he was elected Vice-President, and occupied that office for two the terms of Washington's Presidency.

During Adams' Presidency, the antagonism between the Federal and anti-Federal parties became so intense, and party feeling ran so high that the President, an ardent Federalist, was led into many injudicious public acts that lessened the general confidence in his judgment, and in connection with foreign complications, ultimately overthrew the party of which he was the distinguished head. After his second nomination, he was so thoroughly beaten by his chief antagonist, Thomas Jefferson, the leader of the anti-Federalists, that he quitted the capital in bitterness of spirit and deep disappointment before

the newly-elected Executive was inaugurated. Although, to a certain extent, Adams brought his defeat distinctly upon himself, still he was largely justified in considering that his country had made him a poor return for more than a quarter of a century's absolute self-devotion to its interests. He was as honest and true a patriot as a man could be; and united to a large mind a character, which, while it was not lovable, commanded always the the highest esteem and respect.

Adams lived twenty-five years longer in retirement at his home in Braintree, dying on the 4th of July, 1826, at the age of ninety, within an hour or two of the demise of his old friend and old rival Thomas Jefferson. Within the last dozen years of their lives, the breach between them caused by Adams's final political overthrow, was healed, and they opened a correspondence which was to each a great consolation during their last inactive years.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, THIRD PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

His Pride in the Authorship of the Declaration of Independence.—The First Genuine Democrat.—His Radical Revision of the Laws of Virginia.—The Final Treaty of Peace.—His Views Opposed to Hamilton's.—Genest's Extraordinary Conduct as French Minister.—Love of France and French Institutions.—Jefferson and Aaron Burr Receive the Same Number of Votes for President.—Simplification of Customs and Manners.—His Dislike of Titles.—His Personal Appearance and Delightful Companionship.

Thomas Jefferson, the third President, will be remembered in history as the author of the Declaration of Independence, when his Presidency has been forgotten. He was much prouder of having written that immortal document than of having held any office, and desired that the fact should be inscribed on his tomb. "The Declaration is equal," says Edward Everett, "to anything ever born on parchment, or expressed in the visible signs of thought." "The heart of Jefferson, in writing it," remarks George Bancroft, "beat for all

humanity." Jefferson was born at Shadwell, Va., not far from Monticello, the place associated with his name and death, April 2, 1743, and was the oldest of eight children. His parents were Peter Jefferson, a man of great mental and physical strength, and Jane Randolph, of direct and distinguished English descent. Thomas began at nine his classical studies, and, eight years after, entered an advanced class at William and Mary College at Williamsburg, where he was noted for his diligence and proficiency in languages. Having studied law he was admitted to the bar at twenty-four, and was so successful that he earned the first year about $3,000, —equivalent to five times the sum at the present time. He began his public career, two years later, as a member of the House of Burgesses, where he had heard, while a student, Patrick Henry's great speech on the Stamp Act, having formed his acquaintance when Henry was an insolvent shop-keeper. In 1773, he joined with Henry, and other patriots, in devising the famous Committee of Correspondence and Inquiry for spreading intelligence between the Colonies. Just before this, he had married Martha Skelton, a young and attractive widow, the daughter of a prominent lawyer. She had considerable property in land and slaves, and as he also had a good patrimony, the united estate, added to his professional earnings, was quite valuable.

Elected in 1774 to a convention to choose delegates

to the First Continental Congress at Philadelphia, he drew up for their instruction his renowned "Summary View of the Rights of British America." This was rejected as too radical, but was afterward issued by the House of Burgesses, and published in Great Britain, after some revision by Edmund Burke. On the 21st of June, 1775, he took his seat in the Continental Congress, and was conspicuous in that body on account of his intellectual attainments and political acumen. He served on the most important committees, and aided John Dickinson in preparing a declaration of the cause of the Colonies taking up arms. As George III rejected their final petition, and thus destroyed all hope of an honorable adjustment of their grievances, Jefferson was made chairman of a committee, early in 1776, to prepare a Declaration of Independence. It was unanimously adopted July 4th, and signed by every member present except John Dickinson, of Pennsylvania, who believed it to be premature. Several months later, he resigned his seat to take part in the discussions and examinations of the Virginia Assembly. Having furnished a preamble to a State Constitution previously adopted, he spent two years and a half in radically revising the laws of the Commonwealth; procuring the repeal of the laws of entail, the abolition of primogeniture, and the restoration of the rights of conscience. He was persuaded that these and kindred reforms would destroy every fibre of ancient and future aristocracy.

In June, 1779, Jefferson succeeded Patrick Henry as Governor of Virginia, and retained the office for one term; declining a reëlection on the ground that, at so critical a period, the community would have more faith in a military man. He had hardly retired from office when his estate at Elk Hill was laid waste by the British, and he and his family had a narrow escape from capture. Sent back to Congress in 1783, he reported, as chairman of a committee, the final treaty of peace—concluded at Paris, September 3, 1783,—acknowledging the independence announced in the Declaration of 1776. A bill, establishing the present Federal system of coinage as a substitute for the British system, he also proposed, and caused to be passed by Congress. In May, 1784, he was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to negotiate, with Adams and Franklin, treaties of commerce and amity with foreign powers, and the next year he succeeded Franklin as resident-minister at Paris. He became very fond of France and of French institutions, infinitely preferring them to those of England, and manifested his predilection ever afterward. His residence abroad was one of the happiest periods of his life. While there he published his "Notes on Virginia," referring to commerce, politics, manufactures, etc., which attracted attention throughout Europe. He performed his diplomatic duties with marked ability; became intimate with D'Holbach, Condorcet D'Alembert,

and other liberal minds; found leisure to travel in the provinces, Germany and Italy, and profited much by his opportunities and experiences. Having obtained permission to return home, he quitted Paris in September, 1789, and reached Virginia soon after the election of Washington, who offered him the Secretaryship of State, which he accepted. The Federal Constitution, then recently adopted, he did not approve, because he thought there were as many bad as good things in it—an opinion he afterward materially modified.

During Washington's administration, the two great political parties of the country, the Republicans and Federalists, respectively under the leadership of Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton, then Secretary of the Treasury, began their vehement opposition. Jefferson passionately combated Hamilton's funding system, his national bank, and other financial measures, and earnestly advocated aiding France with our arms, when war had broken out between her and Holland and England; Hamilton contending, on the other hand, for a strict neutrality. The Republicans were disposed to fit out privateers in American ports, to cruise against English ships, while the Federalists denounced any such action as unjust, and as likely to involve us in war with a friendly nation. The President, who had just entered on his second term, warned, in a proclamation, the citizens of the United States against carrying to the

hostile powers articles contraband of war, or doing aught that would violate the neutrality laws. Jefferson favored receiving a minister from the French Republic, who was received in the person of Edward Genest, and was so cordially welcomed in some parts of the country as a representative of the nation which had helped us to secure our freedom, that he tried to persuade the people here that they ought to do all they could for France. He fiercely abused the Government for its want of sympathy, and even fitted out privateers from Charleston, and projected hostile expeditions against Florida and Louisiana, then colonies of Spain. He armed a prize, and ordered her to sail as a privateer. Hamilton advocated the erection of a battery to prevent this, and denounced Genest as a man determined to embroil us with Great Britain. Jefferson declared the vessel would not sail; but she did sail, and the Federalists urged that the Frenchman should be ordered out of the country forthwith. It was finally determined that a request should be made for his recall, and he was recalled. But he decided to remain; he settled in the State of New York, was naturalized, and married a daughter of George Clinton. These differences caused violent discussions in the Cabinet, particularly between Jefferson and Hamilton, who carried all his measures against his rival. Jefferson resigned his office December 31, 1793, and retired to Monticello.

At the close of Washington's administration, Jefferson was, as has been said, nominated for the Presidency by the Republicans, against John Adams, nominated by the Federalists. At the election Adams got the largest number of votes, and was declared President, and Jefferson coming next, was, according to a then existing rule, the Vice-President. Accordingly he became President of the United States Senate. The administration was very stormy, in consequence of disputes with France and other delicate and difficult questions. At the next general election, Jefferson and Adams were again candidates of their respective parties, and the Republicans were victorious, though casting an equal number of votes—seventy-three—for Jefferson and Aaron Burr. This threw the election into the House of Representatives, which, on the thirty-sixth ballot, declared Jefferson President and Burr Vice-President. They took their seats March 4, 1801, in Washington, to which the capital had, a short time previous, been removed. Jefferson and his principles had triumphed at last, and he carefully refrained from doing anything to diminish his great popularity. The Federalists were treated with consideration, and they rapidly dwindled until few of them were left, and those few were the reverse of aggressive. Dress and manners became far more simple; the pompous dignity and ceremony of Washington's epoch disappeared, to give place to extreme simplicity, to which the new Executive had always strenuously inclined.

The government bought Louisiana, which had been ceded by Spain to France, for $15,000,000, and the advantage of the purchase was great. Captains Lewis and Clark received instructions from Jefferson to explore the Continent to the Pacific. Commodore Preble sustained the right of the nation in the Mediterranean against Morocco, and Decatur obliged Tripoli to sue for peace after a most gallant exploit. These events augmented the popularity of Jefferson's administration, and contributed greatly to his reëlection. The year following, he was obliged to arrest Burr on a charge of treason, and he was blamed by the Federalists for his apparent anxiety to procure his conviction. International questions about the loss of foreign trade, Napoleon's blockading European ports, and the right of search caused much commotion during the President's second term; but it was materially abated when he retired from office, and closed his political life. The next seventeen years he spent tranquilly at Monticello, looking after the interests of his large plantation, receiving his friends and admirers, and founding, near Charlottesville, the Central College, now known as the University of Virginia. Several years before his death, he became embarrassed by his exceeding generosity, especially in the way of indiscriminate hospitality. He breathed his last July 4th, in his eighty-fourth year, his mind and all his faculties remaining clear to the end.

No American, unless it be Washington, has exercised a greater or more endearing influence on his country and

countrymen. He was an original thinker, a thorough reformer, and a genuine democrat. In theology, he was what is styled a deist; in politics, he was inimical to strong government, always maintaining that the world was governed in excess. He believed implicitly in State Rights and the power and wisdom of the people. His life-long repugnance to Hamilton arose from the conviction that he favored a monarchy in the United States. Many of his political views were moderated as he grew older, but socially he was an uncompromising and unvarying democrat. He disrelished all titles of honor, objecting even to the common, though meaningless, "Mr." While he never made a formal public speech, he was an expert politician, and a masterly manager of men and shaper of events. He regarded slavery as a positive evil, morally and politically, though he did not favor any change in the agricultural system of the Southern States. He was a devoted husband, a tender father, a gentle master, and a warm-hearted friend. He was more than six feet high; he had a muscular, well-knit frame, a pleasant face with a fair ruddy complexion, light hazel eyes and reddish hair. His voice was agreeable, his conversation intellectual, fresh, and eloquent, and his companionship delightful. His reputation has not been impaired, but rather increased in the fifty-eight years that have passed since his death, and he will always be honored as one of the ablest and noblest of the fathers of the Republic.

CHAPTER XXVII.

JAMES MADISON, JAMES MONROE, AND JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, FOURTH, FIFTH, AND SIXTH PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Conciliatory Character of Madison's Administration.—His Opinions on the Federal Government.—His Charming Wife.—Decline and Death of Federalism.—Monroe's Election Almost Unanimous.—His Gallant Service in the Field.—Wounded at Trenton.—The Era of Good Feeling.—Monroe's Views of Coercion.—Bitter Disputes with Great Britain Leading to the War of 1812.—The Fifth President's Successful Efforts to Restore the Public Credit.—He Dies Involved in Debt.—Adams' Early Advantages and Experiences.—His Honorable and Distinguished Career in the House.

JAMES MADISON.

The Madisons were among the first emigrants from Great Britain to the Colonies, having disembarked on the shores of Chesapeake Bay very soon after the settlement of Jamestown. James Madison, the fourth President, the son of Eleanor Conway and James Madison, of Orange County, Va., a prosperous planter of high standing, was born, March 16, 1751, on the paternal estate, named

Montpelier, and was the eldest of seven children. He was sent, after a preliminary education, to Princeton, N. J., where he was graduated at twenty, though he remained there another year to pursue a course of general reading under the direction of the president of the college. His application to books was so close as to impair his health, which continued delicate through life. After returning home he studied law, combining it with other studies, theology, philosophy, and literature in particular, thus enriching a naturally fine mind. He appears to have had a strong leaning to Orthodoxy—an inclination of the time—and to have been deeply interested in discovering, so far as possible, the evidences of Christianity. He might have passed years in such grateful occupations, had he not been gradually drawn into public affairs. At twenty-five he was chosen a member of the Virginia Convention, but was defeated the year following, because he refused to "treat" the voters, —treating was then a universal custom in the commonwealth,—and because he showed no oratorical powers. In 1779 he was elected to the General Congress, and retained his seat for three years, strongly opposing the issue of paper money by the States.

From that time he became a most conspicuous figure in political events; he was reëlected in 1786, and was also a member the next year of the National Convention, which met in Philadelphia to frame the Constitution of the United States. He warmly advocated its adoption

in debate, and by a series of essays, afterward published in the *Federalist*, the joint production of Madison, Hamilton, and Jay. He was a member of the Virginia Convention, which, in 1788, after a passionate discussion, adopted the Federal Constitution by a small majority. The year following he entered Congress, taking sides with the Republicans in opposition to the political views of Washington and the financial measures of Hamilton. He was not a partisan, however; his words and acts were moderate, all his efforts being directed toward the reconciliatien of party leaders. Much attached to Washington and Hamilton, he disliked exceedingly to differ from them; but he was so amiable and kind-hearted that their differences never affected his personal feelings. His views concerning the Federal Government are preserved in the autograph of Washington, which contains the substance of a letter written to him by Madison, adverse to a plan of complete centralization. He is equally opposed to the "individual independence of the States," and to the "consolidation of the whole into one simple Republic." But he favored giving to Congress the power to exercise a negative in all cases whatever on the legislative acts of the States, as heretofore exercised by the kingly prerogative. He believes that "the right of coercion should be expressly declared; but the difficulty and awkwardness of operating by force on the collective will of a State renders it particularly desirable that the necessity of it should be precluded." He afterwards materially

altered these views, though he cherished and expressed them earnestly in the Philadelphia Convention.

At forty-three he married Mrs. Dorothy Todd, a Virginian, lovely, amiable, and accomplished, the widow of a Philadelphia lawyer. She was constantly spoken of as the fascinating Dolly Madison. Their marriage was entirely harmonious; but they had no children. It is generally supposed that eminent men desire sons, at least, to perpetuate their name and fame, though the sons of eminent men seldom distinguish themselves. The early Presidents were not fortunate in this. Washington was childless; so was Madison and Jackson, and Jefferson had two daughters only.

At forty-two he declined the Secretaryship of State, vacated by Jefferson, but remained in Congress until he was forty-six. He was adverse to the Alien and Sedition Laws, and he wrote the Resolutions of 1798, as they were called, inveighing against all attempts to augment the power of the Federal Government by strained constructions of general clauses of the Constitution. Appointed Secretary of State by Jefferson in 1801, he filled the office for eight years in a manner entirely acceptable to his fellow-citizens. In 1808 he was made President, receiving one hundred and twenty-two out of one hundred and seventy-five electoral votes; the Federal candidate, Charles C. Pinckney, receiving forty-seven. During his first term the country had numberless acrimonious disputes with Great Britain on account of her impressing

American seamen, searching American vessels for deserters, and injuring the national commerce by orders in council. As no redress could be had, these continued outrages led to a declaration of war on our part—the war of 1812, as it is commonly called. In the autumn of the same year, Madison was reëlected against De Witt Clinton, getting one hundred and twenty-eight electoral votes from the Slave States, added to Vermont, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. The war, very unpopular in many quarters, was continued for two years and seven months, when a treaty of peace was signed at Ghent. Commodore Perry gained a naval battle on Lake Erie; a small British force ascended the Chesapeake, and by a sudden movement burned Washington; the battles of Chippewa and Lundy's Lane were fought in Canada, and Jackson won the memorable victory at New Orleans, January 8, 1815 —the news of the peace not having then reached these shores. On the 4th of March, 1817, he retired from public life, to Montpelier, where he died in his eighty-sixth year. His last appearance in public was in the Virginia Convention, assembled in 1829, to reform the old Constitution. He was quite feeble then; he was dressed in black, his thin gray hair still powdered, and he spoke in so low a tone that the members were obliged to leave their seats and stand near him to hear his words.

Not possessed of the orator's gift, he was yet an effective speaker through his honesty, simplicity, and directness, and wielded great influence in debate. He was

universally esteemed and loved; his manners were always gentle and winning; his reputation was without a spot.

JAMES MONROE.

Like all his predecessors, James Monroe belonged to the aristocratic class of Virginia, the well-educated, highly-connected, refined, and prosperous. He was born on his father's plantation, in Westmoreland County, Va., April 28, 1758, being descended on the paternal side from an officer in the army of Charles I. He was educated at William and Mary College, but had been there only two years, when the adoption of the Declaration of Independence so fired his soul that he determined to join our feeble militia against the trained soldiers of England. He went to Washington's headquarters in New York, and enrolled himself as a cadet. Our ill-fed, ill-clothed troops were disheartened, and the Tories were very arrogant, as defeat followed defeat to the Continental cause. Young Monroe was as chivalrous as he was patriotic; he fought heroically; was active as a lieutenant in the campaign on the Hudson; was wounded in the attack on Trenton, and made a Captain for his gallantry. As aide to Lord Stirling with the rank of major, he distinguished himself at Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth.

Thus losing his rank in the regular line, and unable to reënter the army as a commissioned officer, he went back

to Virginia, and began studying law under Thomas Jefferson, then Governor of the State. After the British had invaded Virginia, he did what he could to organize the militia of the lower counties, and when they moved southward, he was sent as military commissioner to South Carolina. In 1782 he was elected to the Assembly of Virginia, and was made a member of the Executive Council at twenty-three. Having been chosen delegate to Congress, and being persuaded that the country could not be governed under the old articles of confederation, he favored an extension of the powers of the body, and proposed, later, that it should have authority to regulate trade between the States. This led to the convention at Annapolis, and afterward to the adoption of the Federal Constitution. Monroe formed an ingenious plan for settling the public lands, and was a valuable member of the commission to determine the boundary between Massachusetts and New York.

At twenty-seven he married the daughter of Lawrence Kortright of New York, a noted belle and social leader, and settled at Fredericksburg, Va. As a member of the Convention of Virginia in 1788, he was against the Constitution of the United States, because it gave, as he thought, too much power to the general government. His course placed him in the ranks of the Republicans who were instrumental in sending him for four years to the national Senate. In 1794 he was appointed Minister

to France, but having offended the native government by his open sympathy with the French republicans, he was recalled after two years. After having been Governor of Virginia for three years, he went to France as envoy-extraordinary to unite with the resident Minister, Edward Livingston, in arranging for the purchase of Louisiana, which embraced the entire valley of the Mississippi, and which was sold by Bonaparte for $15,000,000. After performing other diplomatic missions abroad, he returned home in 1808, and spent two years in retirement. In 1811, he was again chosen Governor of Virginia. The same year he was appointed Secretary of State by President Madison, and after the capture of Washington, he took the head of the War Department, without resigning his former office. He labored long and successfully to restore the public credit, and improve the condition of the army, pledging his private fortune to the former end. He continued to act as Secretary of the Treasury until the close of Madison's administration; he was the President's private adviser in many things, and was then chosen as his successor by the party who called themselves Democratic Republicans. Soon after he traveled through the Eastern and Middle States, in the undress uniform of a Continental officer, inspecting arsenals, fortifications, garrisons, reviewing troops, and closely studying the military capability of the country. He was much liked personally and politically; party

rancor, which had been so fierce, was almost extinguished, and the time was spoken of as the Era of Good Feeling. During his first term, Maine, Illinois, and Mississippi were admitted into the Union; a convention was concluded between this country and England concerning the Newfoundland fisheries, and other matters of importance, and East and West Florida, with the adjacent islands, was ceded by Spain to the United States.

In 1820, Monroe was reëlected almost unanimously, the Federal party having become extinct. The next year Missouri was taken into the confederacy after a long and exciting debate, resulting in the famous Missouri Compromise, by which slavery was allowed in that State, but forever prohibited elsewhere, north of the parallel 36° 30′. What is now known as the Monroe Doctrine was announced in his message of December 2, 1823, on the policy of our not interfering with the affairs of Europe, and not allowing Europe to interfere with those of the Western Continent. He said that any attempt on the part of the Old World States to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere would be regarded by us as dangerous to our peace and safety, and would be strenuously resisted. At the close of his administration, he retired to Oak Hill, Loudon County, Virginia. He was afterward made a Justice of the Peace, and at seventy-one became a member of the Virginia Convention to revise the old Constitution. He was chosen to

preside over that body; but ill health prevented, and he went back to Oak Hill. In his last years he was troubled with debt, notwithstanding that he had received for his public services more than $350,000. His wife died before him, and then he removed to New York, to the residence of his son-in-law, Samuel L. Gouverneur, where he expired at the age of seventy-three. He was singularly discreet, single-minded, and patriotic, and did more than any of his predecessors to develop the resources of the Republic. He was tall, well-proportioned, of fair complexion and blue eyes, and his face was a reflection of his pure and benevolent nature.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

John Quincy Adams is the only instance in the Republic of a son succeeding his father as President; he being the sixth and John Adams the second. As the eldest son, he had rare and exceptional opportunities for education. In childhood he was taught by his mother, a grand-daughter of Col. John Quincy, and a woman of superior mind. When but eleven, he went to France with his father, and attended school in Paris, making much progress in the native language and other studies. Two years later, he again accompanied his father to Europe, and took a course at the University of Leyden. At fourteen, he was appointed private secretary to Francis Dana, Minister to Russia, remained fourteen months in

St. Petersburg, and then traveled leisurely through Scandinavia and Denmark to Holland, where he resumed his studies at the Hague. He came home to finish his education and was graduated at Harvard in his twenty-first year. Admitted to the bar in 1791, he began to practice in Boston. His first publications were a number of essays in journals of that city, pointing out the whimseys and sophistries of radical French politicians, and declaring that the country should be strictly neutral in the war between France and England. They attracted wide attention, and commended him to Washington, who appointed him Minister to Holland in 1794, having formed a most elevated opinion of his character and capacities. At thirty, he espoused Louisa Catherine Johnson, a daughter of Joshua Johnson, of Maryland, then Consul at London. He was elected to the United States Senate for the term beginning March, 1803, and two years after was appointed professor of rhetoric and belles-lettres at Harvard, accepting the place only on condition that he should perform his senatorial duties while Congress was in session. He offended the Federalists, with whom he had been allied, by sustaining Jefferson's embargo act, and from that cause went over to the Democrats, or National Republicans, as they preferred to call themselves. He resigned his seat in the Senate, being unwilling to obey the will of the Federalists, then in the majority of Massachusetts, and angered them

greatly by accusing some of their leaders of having formed a plot to dissolve the Union, and set up a Northern Confederacy. This accusation is thought to have been one of the most potent causes of the enmity and suspicion so long cherished toward New England by the Southern and other States.

Adams became conspicuous in the Senate as an able debater and a finished scholar, and in 1809 was sent by Madison to Russia, where he originated the friendly feeling which has ever since been maintained between that power and our own. In 1813, he was one of the commissioners to negotiate a treaty with Great Britain at Ghent, and performed his part with signal ability. Going to England in a ministerial capacity in 1815, he stayed there for two years, when he returned to fill the office of Secretary of State, under Monroe. He discharged its duties as satisfactorily as he had those of diplomacy. In 1824, Adams, Jackson, Crawford, and Clay, all substantially having the same politics, that of the Democrats, were candidates for the Presidency. Adams received eighty-four electoral votes, Jackson ninety-nine, Crawford forty-one, and Clay thirty-seven, which rendered it necessary for the House of Representatives to decide the question. Clay threw all his influence in favor of Adams, and secured his choice. As the President appointed Clay Secretary of State, Jackson and his supporters charged the Kentuckian with corrupt

motives, and imputed to the President a lack of integrity. Although there is no good reason for believing those charges, they probably had much weight in defeating him for a second term, when he received only eighty-three votes out of two hundred and sixty-one. Adams favored internal improvements, the protection of home manufactures, and was principled against removing men from office merely for difference of political views. March 4, 1829, he retired to Quincy, Mass., formerly called Braintree, where he had been born July 11, 1767, nearly sixty-two years before. The next year he was sent to Congress, to the surprise of everybody, because previous Presidents had never been willing to return to Washington in any political capacity. He continued in the House of Representatives for seventeen years, showing more ability and gaining more reputation than ever before. He was generally regarded as a model legislator, no one surpassing him in application and powers of endurance, not to speak of talents and learning. While he generally sided with the Whigs, he was independent in his opinions and conduct. He won most renown by his defense of the right of petition and his unyielding opposition to what he denounced as the constant encroachments of the slave power. Although the House had adopted a rule that no petition bearing on slavery should be read, printed or debated, Adams persisted in presenting such petitions, one by one, sometimes to the number

of two hundred in a day, and demanding action on each separate petition. The most violent anger, menace, and abuse from the Southerners never moved him from his conscientious course, and his coolness, under the circumstances, only added to and intensified their vituperative wrath. He died at his post of an attack of paralysis, February 23, 1848, aged eighty, his last words being, "I am content."

John Quincy Adams was more scholarly than his father, but not his equal in native force of intellect. He wrote fluently and copiously, but his style was verbose and inflated, wholly inferior to John Adams's simple, strong, idiomatic English. They were Unitarians; they resembled one another in appearance as well as in energy, firmness, and unwavering courage, and both had passionate tempers and hot prejudices. They were eminently representatives of New England, and despite their faults, many though not grievous, they were of sturdy stuff and an honor to American history.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

ANDREW JACKSON, MARTIN VAN BUREN, AND WM. HENRY HARRISON, SEVENTH, EIGHTH, AND NINTH PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Jackson, the First Unmixed Democrat.—His Election Regarded in Virginia and Massachusetts with Surprise and Disgust.—His Uncouth and Untaught Youth.—His Chivalrous Delicacy Toward Women.—His Morbid Sensibility about his Wife's Reputation.—His Combats with Indians.—Various Recounters and Duels.—The Hermitage.—The Seminole War.—Battle of New Orleans.—His Determination to Hang the Nullifiers.—Honest, Single-minded, and Patriotic.—Van Buren as Democrat and Free-soiler.—His Contented Old Age.—Harrison as an Indian Fighter.—The Log Cabin Campaign.

ANDREW JACKSON.

A greater difference than that between Andrew Jackson and his Presidential predecessors can not well be conceived. Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and the Adamses, had all been men of education, refinement, breeding, accustomed to good society and polite usages. Jackson was an illiterate, untrained, rustic, violent man, whose life, spent in a semi-civilized region, had been marked by savage personal combats and many disgraceful scenes. His choice as Chief Executive denotes a

new era in politics, a great change in public sentiment. It is easy to understand with what surprise, pain, and disgust the gentlemen of Virginia and Massachusetts, the two States that exercised the most influence on the young Republic, must have regarded the election to the Presidency of a military chieftain, backwoodsman, cock-fighter, and tyrant, who had never shown respect for law, or recognized any authority but his despotic will. Jackson was, indeed, the first unmixed Democrat, politically and socially, that had been placed in the highest position of trust and power. It was the beginning of an epoch, which opened a new volume of the national history.

Andrew Jackson, the seventh President, was of Scotch-Irish extraction, and born in what was known as the Waxhaw Settlement, N. C., so near the line that he always supposed himself a native of South Carolina. He bore the full name of his father, a very poor man who came to this country in 1765, and never struggled out of penury. His mother, Elizabeth Hutchinson, of very humble origin, brought him into the world some days after his father's death, under very hard and most depressing circumstances. He was the youngest of three boys, whom their mother reared as best she could, in a common cabin in which she lived with her brother-in-law, doing the hard work of the house, while his wife, her sister, was incapacitated from labor by permanent invalidism. Andrew, or Andy, as he was commonly called, greatly loved and revered his mother, who died

when he was a youth, leaving him literally alone in the world, and a very hard part of the world in those days, was the Waxhaw Settlement. He mourned her deeply, and in after life often referred tenderly to her virtues. One of his best traits was his inherent and unvarying respect for women, toward whom he ever conducted himself with chivalrous delicacy, not to be expected in a man of such antecedents, and of so impetuous and turbulent a disposition. He grew up wild, homely, awkward, profane, quarrelsome, overbearing, fond of physical exercise, and with no more instruction than enabled him to read, write a very indifferent hand—he never learned to spell, —and master rudimentary arithmetic.

Jackson was only fourteen when he first fought against the British. His elder brother Hugh had already died of heat and exhaustion at the battle of Stono, having gone forth in a company of volunteers to attack Tarleton. Andrew and Robert, his other brother, were zealous Whigs, and having been taken prisoners by the enemy, were both seriously wounded by a brutal English officer, whose boots they had refused to clean. They caught the small-pox while in captivity, and were exchanged by the exertions of their mother, who took them home, where Robert died of the disease. She soon after went to Charleston, to take care of the sick and wounded Americans, and fell a victim to ship-fever. Andrew, compelled literally to earn his bread, worked in a saddler's

shop, and taught school, which must have been of a queer sort, if he could teach it. At seventeen, he began the study of law at Salisbury, N. C., but was more interested in cock-fighting, horse-racing, card-playing, and all rude sports, than in his studies. He was called a very hard case, though he had many redeeming traits, chief among them being hatred of oppression and love of justice. At twenty, he was licensed to practice, and the next year was appointed public prosecutor of the western district of the State, now Tennessee. He went to Nashville immediately, and entered upon his duties, gaining many clients, and serving them faithfully. That was a wild region then, and his constant travel was done at the risk of his life. But he feared neither Indians nor anything else, and he had so many narrow escapes that his rude neighbors thought him danger-proof.

At twenty-four, he took for wife Mrs. Rachel Robards, daughter of Col. John Donelson, of Virginia, one of the pioneers of Tennessee, after whom was named Fort Donelson, captured by General Grant the second year of the Civil War. Mrs. Robards and her first husband were boarding with Mrs. Donelson, then a widow, when Jackson reached Tennessee, and became a boarder under the same roof. Mrs. Robards was, in a frontier way, vivacious and sportive, a rattling talker and a fine rider. Her husband, suspicious and morose, was very jealous of her, and made her very unhappy. Jackson

was fond of her society, though he in no manner passed the boundaries of the most conventional decorum. Her husband believed, or pretended to believe, that he was his wife's lover, and applied to the Virginia Legislature for an act preliminary to divorce. Jackson and Mrs. Robards supposed the act itself a divorce, and they were married two years before divorce had been allowed. This innocent mistake (they were married again when it was discovered) was the source of endless annoyance and sorrow to the second husband, who, to the day of his death, was so sensitive and fiery on the subject that, if any man hinted at any impropriety in their relations, he was certain to be called to account by Jackson, pistol in hand. Indeed, he was little less than a monomaniac in regard to his wife. Several of his most savage conflicts grew, directly or indirectly, out of what he believed or imagined to be reflections on her fair fame. If ever a man was connubially mad, that man was Andrew Jackson. Mrs. Robards was an honest and worthy, though an uneducated and very ordinary sort of woman; but he fancied her to be a goddess, an angel, a saint, a creature entirely apart and above humanity, and he wanted to kill anybody who dared express any other opinion.

Much of Jackson's early life in Tennessee was spent in fighting the Indians and his private enemies, of whom he always had a host. He was one of the most irascible

and pugnacious of mortals, and his ire, aroused by the slightest cause, was deadly. Possessed of many generous and noble qualities, he was often in his resentments no better than a barbarian. When he was one of the judges of the supreme court of Tennessee, John Sevier was governor. They had quarreled, and Jackson had challenged the governor who had declined the challenge. Still on bad terms, they met one day in the streets of Knoxville, and after exchanging a few words, Sevier made some slighting allusion to Mrs. Jackson. Her husband roared out, "Do you dare, villain, to mention her sacred name?" And whipping out a pistol, fired at the governor, who returned the shot. They fired again, ineffectually, and then bystanders interfered. Not long after, they encountered one another on horseback on the road, each accompanied by a friend. Again they shot at one another, the friends taking part, and murder would have been done, had not some travelers, who had chanced to come up, separated the combatants. Jackson had the reputation of being a dead shot; but he frequently missed his man, owing doubtless to the excitement of the occasion.

A friend of Jackson, William Carroll, having challenged Jesse Benton, a younger brother of Thomas H. Benton, Jackson was induced to act as his second. The principals were wounded, Benton seriously, which angered the elder Benton, because he thought Jackson under

obligations to him, and prompted him to say such things as a choleric man is apt to say of anybody who has offended him. The abusive remarks were repeated to Jackson, and he, in one of his customary bursts of passion and profanity, declared that he would horsewhip Benton the first time he should see him. Hearing, a few weeks after, that his foe was at the City Hotel in Nashville, he sought him there in the company of a friend. Armed with pistols and a small sword, he advanced with a whip in his hand, on Benton, who was standing at the front door, very near his brother Jesse. "I'm going to punish you, you blank—blank villain," he cried; "defend yourself." Thomas Benton made as if to draw a weapon; his adversary pulled a pistol, and leveled it at his breast. Benton retreated slowly through the hall, followed closely by Jackson, when Jesse Benton fired at the latter and shattered his arm and shoulder. Lying helpless and bleeding on the floor, his friend discharged a pistol at Thomas Benton, and finding he had missed him, hurried forward, and was about to strike him with the butt, when Benton stumbled and fell to the bottom of some stairs he had not observed at the end of the hall. While Jackson's friend was looking after him, his nephew attacked Jesse Benton with a bowie-knife, and the two had a savage and bloody encounter until they were pulled apart. This was not an uncommon scene in the Southwest in those days; nor would it be

very uncommon there now. Jackson was then forty-seven; had been a member of Congress, as United States Senator, and was at the time a Major-General of militia.

One of the most tragical of his experiences was his duel, some years before, with Charles Dickinson, who had committed the unpardonable sin of commenting freely on Mrs. Jackson. They had several disagreements, and Jackson finally spoke of Dickinson in so violent a manner that his language was repeated, as the General wished it should be, to the man himself. Thereupon, Dickinson, who was about to start for New Orleans on a flat boat, wrote Jackson a letter, denouncing him as a liar and a coward. On his return, Jackson challenged him, and they met on the banks of the Red River in Logan County, Ky., early in the morning of May 30, 1806. Dickinson got first fire, breaking a rib, and making a serious wound in the breast of his opponent, who showed no sign of having been hit. He had felt sure of killing his antagonist, and exclaimed, "Great God, have I missed him?" Jackson, taking deliberate aim, pulled the trigger; but the weapon did not explode. It stopped at half-cock. He cocked it fully, and again calmly and carefully leveling it, fired. The bullet passed through Dickinson's body, just above the hips: he fell, and died that night after suffering terrible agony. Jackson never recovered from the hurt, and never expressed the least remorse for what many persons pronounced a cold-blooded

murder. There is no doubt that he had made up his mind to kill Dickinson. Any man who had spoken discreditably of Mrs. Jackson had, in his opinion, forfeited the right to live.

Not long after his marriage, Jackson removed from Nashville to a farm, some thirteen miles distant, which he named the Hermitage, where he died in his seventy-ninth year. He lived in a spacious home, and had for a store a block house, where he sold goods to the Indians, and the settlers in the neighborhood. He did a profitable business—his assistant transacted most of it—frequently sending corn, tobacco, and cotton, which he raised on his land, with the assistance of his slaves, to the New Orleans market. He had no abhorrence of slavery, though he was always a kind and considerate master. He was a member of the Convention that framed the Constitution of Tennessee in 1796, and was elected to Congress from the new State, then entitled to only one Representative. The next year, he was sent to the National Senate, but soon resigned his seat. He acted as a Judge of the Supreme Court for eight years. He enlisted in the war of 1812; defeated the Creek Indians, acquiring great popularity thereby, and was made a Major-General in the regular army. His victory at New Orleans gave him a great reputation, and rendered him an idol of the people of the Southwest.

In 1817–18, he carried on prosperous war against the

Seminoles in Florida, seized Pensacola without authority, as was his wont, and hanged two British subjects for inciting the Indians to hostile acts. It was a great surprise to the Eastern and Middle States when he received the largest number of votes of any one of the four candidates for the Presidency in 1824. After Adams had been chosen by the House of Representatives, Jackson seemed to have permanently withdrawn to the Hermitage; but all the opponents of Adams supported him in the next campaign, which was the most bitter ever known in the country, and he was triumphantly elected. His two terms were stormy enough. His veto of the bill granting a new charter to the United States Bank created great excitement, and his removal of the public deposits created still more. His proclamation against the nullifiers of South Carolina was electric in its effect, and that he would have hanged them, as he afterward said, if he had had cause to, is altogether probable. While he was with many one of the most detested Presidents that have sat in the executive chair, he was extremely popular with the masses. Nor can it be denied that most of the acts for which he was once savagely denounced have come to be generally approved. He was narrow, ignorant, overflowing with passion and prejudice; but he was, nevertheless, honest, single-minded, and, according to his light, a true and conscientious patriot.

MARTIN VAN BUREN.

Martin Van Buren, the eighth President, largely owed his office to the friendship and influence of General Jackson, with whom he had made himself a particular favorite. Born at Kinderhook, N. Y., December 5, 1782, he died near there in his eightieth year. Educated at the local academy, he studied law and was admitted to the bar by the time he was nineteen. He began very early to take part in politics as a Democrat, and at thirty was elected to the State Senate. He favored the war of 1812, and was made Attorney-General of New York. He was the ruling spirit of the Albany Regency, formed to oppose De Witt Clinton, which controlled the State politically for twenty years. Having been twice chosen United States Senator, he resigned his position to enter the Cabinet of Jackson. He was nominated Minister to England, and went there; but his nomination was rejected by the Senate, in which the Whigs—the name taken during the previous administration by the opponents of Jackson—had then a majority. To indemnify him for this mortification, the Democrats made him Vice-President during Jackson's second term. At its termination, Van Buren was put forward as a candidate for the Presidency against Harrison, a Whig, and was easily elected. The year after—1837—there was a great financial panic, with an extraordinary commercial depression, and in May of that year all the banks in the country suspended specie

payment. Van Buren, in his message, recommended an independent treasury, which was established by law in 1840. All his political friends voted for the resolution that Congress should lay all petitions for the abolition of slavery on the table without reading, a resolution which, as has been seen, John Quincy Adams gallantly defied.

In 1840 he was renominated against his former competitor Harrison; but he was so assailed by the Whig newspapers and orators as responsible for the commercial prostration and monetary distress incident to his term of office, and so charged with extravagance, corruption, and indifference to the condition of the laboring classes, that, rendered odious to the masses, he was overwhelmingly defeated. In 1844 his name was again presented, and a majority of the delegates of the convention, held at Baltimore, were for him. But the Southerners opposed him, because he had expressed himself adversely to the annexation of Texas, and by making a vote of two-thirds necessary to a choice, defeated his prospects. He subsequently became a free Democrat, or Free-Soiler. After 1848, he returned to private life on his estate at Lindenwald, near Kinderhook, enjoying leisure, wealth, and a contented old age. Long before his death, the prejudice that had been excited by party politics wore away, and he was seen in his true character. He was an amiable and accomplished gentleman, and his domestic relations were very happy. His son John, a brilliant lawyer in New York city, survived his father but four years.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

The administration of William Henry Harrison, the successor of Martin Van Buren, and ninth President, was the briefest in the history of the country. It lasted exactly one month, from the 4th of March, 1841, when he was inaugurated, to the 4th of April, when he died, after a week's illness, supposed to have been brought on by the excitement and fatigue of the campaign and the inauguration. He was older—being sixty-eight—than any man who has been called to the Executive office, and possibly on this account less able to bear the strain.

Harrison was born in Berkeley, Charles City County, Virginia, February 9, 1773, and died in Washington. His father was Governor Benjamin Harrison, and his family enjoyed good social position. He entered the army some time before his majority, and rose in time from Ensign to Major-General. His most important campaigns were against the Indians, whom he managed so well that, in treating with different tribes at different times, he obtained from them very important concessions of land. It was during his Indian fighting that the successful defense of his camp at Tippecanoe gave him that nick-name. He took a creditable part in the short War of 1812 with England; and, after it, went into an honorable retirement for a time at North Bend, Ohio, where he had a farm. He was sent to Congress in 1816; after a few years, to the Senate; and was appointed by John Quincy

Adams, Minister to Colombia. He was quickly recalled upon Jackson's inauguration, and remained in private life until he was nominated for the Presidency in 1836, in opposition to Martin Van Buren. He was defeated, but renominated in 1840. The military element having been introduced into politics by General Jackson's election, it was thought that a second attempt, with a good military record, would be more certain than the first had been to defeat Van Buren. Harrison was, therefore, again put forward, with John Tyler of Virginia for Vice-President, and the ticket polled a very large and successful vote. The methods of conducting political campaigns had greatly changed during this period—mass meetings, torch-light processions, and manufactured enthusiasm becoming the order of the day. The opposition had cast it as a slur upon Harrison that he had at some time lived in a log-cabin, and had only hard cider to drink. It was stupid and silly; for what a man is, not where he has lived, is the important thing in this country; and the Whigs quickly caught the words, and used "log-cabin" and "hard cider" with excellent effect. Harrison was a man of pleasing address, agreeable manners, and a thorough gentleman.

CHAPTER XXIX.

JOHN TYLER AND JAMES K. POLK, TENTH AND ELEVENTH PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Tyler the First Vice-President to Succeed the Chief Executive by Death.—A Representative of the Same Social Class as Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe.—Education and Wealth Really Disadvantageous to Him.—A Career of Continuous Vetoes.—Making Himself Extremely Unpopular.—Forcing His Cabinet to Resign.—The Annexation of Texas a Favorite Scheme.—A Member of the Peace Convention in 1861.—A Former Chief Magistrate in Open Rebellion Against the Government.—Polk and the Mexican War.—A Commonplace President.

JOHN TYLER.

Upon the death of President Harrison, Vice-President Tyler succeeded to the office, and was the first of the four Vice-Presidents who have become President on the death of the elected Executive. By an odd coincidence, he was born in the same county—Charles City—in Virginia, which gave birth to Harrison, though the latter so early made his home in Ohio that he is commonly reported as an Ohioan. Tyler was much younger than Harrison, having been born March 29, 1790, and was the second son of John Tyler, a distinguished revolutionary patriot.

He belonged to the same social class with Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, but was a man of very different caliber. He was narrow-minded where they were broad, bigoted where they were liberal, reactionary in his political principles where they were progressive, and was indeed, what has recently been considered a typical Southerner rather than a typical American. In his youth he had all the advantages of education and wealth; but, to a man of his turn of mind, they were really disadvantages.

Tyler held many offices, beginning with the Virginia Legislature, passing on to the House of Representatives in Washington, and thence to the Senate, before being nominated to the Vice-Presidency. In the Senate he succeeded the famous John Randolph, and while there began his well-known career of opposition to progress which resulted in continual Presidential vetoes during his administration. As Senator, he voted against all efforts toward internal improvements by the general government, against various tariff bills, and against many things which showed an enlightened public spirit. He made himself very unpopular, but was finally nominated for the Vice-Presidency, in order to draw the Southern vote to Harrison, with whose nomination the South was much dissatisfied, having preferred Henry Clay. Tyler was then acting with the Whig party, but soon after his accession to the Presidency he began to offend his party by his ill-considered acts, and speedily forced all his cab-

inet except Daniel Webster, the Secretary of State, to resign. His course became so unsatisfactory during the second year of his administration that the Whig members of Congress felt called upon to publicly declare themselves as entirely at odds with the President, and no longer his adherents.

The annexation of Texas occurred during President Tyler's administration, and was a scheme much favored by him. It was only successfully carried, however, with the aid of the Democrats in Congress, whose influence Tyler continually sought, after antagonizing his own party.

Although Tyler accepted a renomination from a convention composed mainly of office-holders, held in May, 1844, it soon became evident, even to him, that he would certainly be ignominiously beaten; consequently he withdrew his name from the candidacy. He was the first President to express himself actively in favor of slavery, and everything which looked toward a limitation of the "institution" aroused his most violent opposition. In 1861, he was a member of the "Peace Convention," held in Washington, in the futile hope of arranging the difficulties between the seceded States and the National Government. The convention being without result, he threw in his fortunes with the Confederacy, and presented the humiliating spectacle of a former Chief Magistrate in open Rebellion against the Government of which he had once been the head.

Tyler was twice married, and was the father of several children. He died on January 17, 1862, at Richmond, Virginia, while a member of the Confederate Congress.

JAMES K. POLK.

James Knox Polk, the eleventh President, was born in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, November 12, 1795. He did not, like the Virginia Presidents, spring from the wealthy and cultured class, but was the son of a farmer in very moderate circumstances, who removed in 1806 to Tennessee. His early education was very limited; but he managed to prepare himself for college, and was graduated in 1818 from the University of North Carolina. He began to practise at the bar in 1820; was elected to the State Legislature in 1823; was sent to Congress in 1825, where he was strongly opposed to President John Quincy Adams' administration. Later he became ardently devoted to General Jackson, and remained a most earnest Democrat during his life. In 1835, Polk was elected Speaker of the House. After being in Congress fourteen years, he declined a renomination, and retired to Tennessee, only to be immediately made Governor of the State. In May, 1844, the National Democratic Convention nominated him for President, with George M. Dallas of Pennsylvania for Vice-President. The Whig candidates were Henry Clay and Theodore Frelinghuysen. Polk and Dallas were successful, and entered office March 4, 1845. The annexation of

Texas had just been advised by President Tyler, and it became the most important effort of President Polk's administration to defend the frontier of our new possession. He sent General Taylor with a small force to occupy the disputed land between the Nueces river, which Mexico claimed as the boundary, and the Rio Grande, which the Government claimed as the boundary. In April, 1846, active fighting began between General Taylor and General Arista, the Mexican commander. The President then declared that war existed, and asked Congress for men and money. Authority was given to call for fifty thousand men, and $10,000,000. Although the war was generally unpopular at the North, it was prosecuted with energy, our forces even penetrating to the very capital of Mexico. Mexico ended by ceding all that was demanded of her, yielding upper California and New Mexico, and granting the Rio Grande from its mouth to El Paso, as the southern boundary of Texas. Beside the Mexican war, the important events of Polk's administration were certain modifications of the tariff, the creation of the Department of the Interior, the admission of the State of Wisconsin, and the very important event of establishing the National Treasury system in Washington, independent of all the State banks.

Having agreed not to seek a renomination, President Polk retired from office March 4, 1849, and three months later died, after a few days' illness, at his home in Nashville.

CHAPTER XXX.

ZACHARY TAYLOR, MILLARD FILLMORE, AND FRANKLIN PIERCE, TWELFTH, THIRTEENTH, AND FOURTEENTH PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Taylor purely a Military Man.—His Reputation made in the Mexican War.—His Death in Four Months.—His Disqualifications for Political Life.—Fillmore's Early Success.—His Foreshadowing of the National Banking System.—Approval of the Fugitive Slave Law.—The Irreparable Injury it did Him.—A Candidate of the American Party.—Pierce a Northern Man with Extreme Southern Principles.—His constant Sympathy with and Sustainment of Slavery.—His Gallantry in the Field.—Retirement to Private Life Equivalent to Extinction.

The twelfth President, General Zachary Taylor, was the last of the Presidents born in Virginia. He first saw the light on September 24, 1784, in Orange County, from which his father, Colonel Richard Taylor, removed to the neighborhood of Louisville, Kentucky, in 1785. Until he was twenty-three, Zachary remained on his father's plantation; but in 1808, his elder brother, Hancock, died in the army, and the commission — that of Lieutenant — which he held, was

offered to Zachary. This was the beginning of a military career which lasted nearly all his life. After the declaration of war against Great Britain in 1812, he being then a Captain, was placed in command of Fort Harrison on the Wabash River, not far from Vincennes. This was furiously attacked at night by the Indians; but Captain Taylor, with a handful of men, two-thirds of them being ill, made a brilliant and successful defense, and received as his reward from President Madison, the brevet rank of Major — the first time a brevet rank was ever conferred in our army. Having thus established his military reputation, he constantly held important commands until the peace in 1815, when, for a brief period, he resigned his commission, and retired to private life.

He was soon reappointed, however, and took conspicuous part in the Black Hawk War, and in the conflicts with the Indians in Florida in 1836–37, and in 1840 was appointed Commander of the First Department of the Southwest. About this time he purchased an estate at Baton Rouge, and removed his family thereto. In July, 1845, following the annexation of Texas, he was ordered with fifteen hundred troops to defend our new possession against invasion by Mexico. He encamped near Corpus Christi, and his force was soon increased to four thousand. It was pretty plainly indicated to General Taylor that the Government would

be glad to have him throw down the gauntlet to Mexico by moving into the disputed territory. Taylor, however, was too wise to commit any overt act until expressly ordered to do so by President Polk. Being positively ordered to advance, he began to move toward the Rio Grande on March 8, 1846, and on the 28th, reached the bank of the river opposite Matamoras. On the 12th of April, General Ampudia, in command of the Mexican forces near by, sent word to General Taylor to retire to the Nueces River, while the boundary question was being settled by the respective governments, at the same time declaring a failure to comply with the advice would be construed as a declaration of war by Mexico. General Taylor replied that his instructions did not permit him to retire, and that if the Mexicans chose to begin hostilities, he was prepared. Such was the beginning of the Mexican War. On the 8th of May, the battle of Palo Alto, the first of the war, was won by General Taylor; and from that day until his return home in November, 1847, "Old Rough and Ready," as he was called by his soldiers, was almost uniformly successful.

In June, 1848, he was nominated for President by the Whigs, upon the express understanding that he should be unbound by pledges. Millard Fillmore of New York was nominated for Vice-President. Although the nomination of General Taylor was quite popular among the

people, it gave considerable offense to a number of the northern delegates, and Henry Wilson and some others withdrew from the convention to form the Free Soil party, the basis of which was opposition to the extension of slavery. The Democrats nominated Lewis Cass; but on account of his known pro-slavery principles, many of his party refused to vote for him, giving their suffrages to the Free Soil candidates, Martin Van Buren and Charles Francis Adams. General Taylor was, however, elected, and was inaugurated on Monday, March 5, 1849.

The most important questions of his administration concerned the admission of California as a State, the organization of the new territories, and the still vexed boundaries of Texas; the vital point being the relation of Slavery to the new sections. At that time, there were an equal number of Slave and Free States, giving an exact balance of power in the Senate, and the admission of California either as a Free or a Slave State was a matter of vital importance to both political parties. President Taylor recommended that California be admitted; that the new territories should draw up constitutions to suit themselves on the subject of slavery, and be ultimately admitted as States on these bases. This view was too liberal for the slave-holding leaders of the South, and many of them already threatened secession. In the Senate, Henry Clay was attempting to effect some sort of compromise—compromise which has ever been the

bane of the country—when President Taylor was attacked with bilious fever on July 4, 1850, and died five days later at the White House.

Few of the Presidents have been less prepared to fill that high office. He was ignorant, not only of state-craft and politics, but he had not had the most ordinary advantages of education. On the other hand, he had sterling qualities of character; he was simple, modest, loyal, and thoroughly desirous to do his duty as far as a limited understanding made it plain; and he died amid sincere regret. He left several children, one of his daughters being the first Mrs. Jefferson Davis.

MILLARD FILLMORE.

Millard Fillmore, the thirteenth President, was born January 7, 1800, in Locke, now Summerhill, Cayuga County, New York. The region was then a wilderness, and his opportunities for education were limited to the most elementary parts. At fourteen, he was apprenticed to learn the fuller's trade; but in his nineteenth year determined to study law. He agreed, therefore, to buy the rest of his time from his employer, and with a neighboring lawyer arranged to earn his lessons. In 1821, he made his way on foot to Buffalo, and arrived an utter stranger with his entire fortune of $4 in his pocket. He obtained employment by teaching school, and assisting the post-master while he prosecuted his studies, and the

energy and determination which had helped him so far, carried him to the bar before the usual period of preparation. He began practice at Aurora, New York, where his father then resided. He gradually built up a prosperous practice, and in 1830 removed to Buffalo, which was ever after his home.

His political life began in 1828, on his election to the State Legislature by the anti-Masonic party. He particularly distinguished himself by advocating the abolition of imprisonment for debt; the bill in relation to which was mainly drafted by him. In 1832, he was sent to Congress on the anti-Jackson ticket. In 1836, he was sent again by the Whigs, and remained until 1842, when he declined a renomination. Fillmore earnestly supported President John Quincy Adams in his course concerning the reception and reading in Congress of petitions adverse to Slavery. He declared himself adverse to the admission of Texas as a Slave State; he was in favor of the immediate abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia,—and of Congress using all its constitutional powers to prevent the slave trade between the States. He would not, however, pledge himself not to change his opinions on these vital questions. Fillmore was a most devoted Representative, and was one of the most active members during his entire term in Congress. He retired in 1843, and was a candidate for the nomination of Vice-President in 1844, but was defeated. He

was also defeated for Governor of New York in 1845 by Silas Wright. In 1847 he was elected Comptroller of the State, and in his report in 1849, suggested that a national bank, with United States stocks as a basis for the issue of currency, would be a great convenience for the people; thus foreshadowing our present national banking system.

In June, 1848, Fillmore was really nominated for the Vice-Presidency with General Taylor for President, and was elected the following November. When John C. Calhoun was Vice-President, he had made the rule that the Vice-President had no power to call the Senate to order. Fillmore, however, in a brief but telling speech, announced his intention of keeping order in that body, and reversing any previous rules, if necessary. His course was highly commended by the senators of all parties.

On the 10th of July, 1850, he was sworn in as President upon Zachary Taylor's death. The question of the constitutionality of the act compelling the return of fugitive slaves soon came up for decision, and was referred to the attorney-general, John J. Crittenden of Kentucky. He decided in favor of the bill, and the President concurred in the decision. This was one of the most unpopular measures of Fillmore's administration; for many members of the Whig party were opposed to encouraging Slavery, although not avowedly of the anti-slavery

faith. The execution of this law was constantly resisted, and although the President declared it should be maintained because it was the law, those who resisted it were not, in consequence of its unpopularity, often molested. The signing of the Fugitive Slave Bill, as it was called, was almost the only very unpopular act of Fillmore's administration, which in many respects was remarkably successful; but he was so distasteful to the northern public that, when a candidate for renomination in 1852, he could not secure twenty votes in the Free States. Once afterward, in 1856, he was nominated by the American or Know-Nothing party for President, against Buchanan nominated by the Democrats, and Fremont by the Republicans. He received quite a large popular vote; but Maryland alone gave him its electoral vote. After this, he wholly retired from public life, and lived in Buffalo until his death, March 8th, 1874.

FRANKLIN PIERCE.

Franklin Pierce, fourteenth President, although well born—his father being a Revolutionary general, and Governor of his native State—and well educated, was one of the most unenlightened Executives the country has had. His body was born in Hillsborough, New Hampshire, November 23, 1804; but his mind was native to the most bigoted region of the South. He was graduated at Bowdoin College in 1824, in the same class with

Nathaniel Hawthorne; he studied law at Portsmouth and Amherst, N. H., and Northampton, Mass., and was admitted to the bar in 1827. At the age of twenty-five, he was elected to the Legislature, remaining four years. At twenty-nine, he was sent to Congress, and in 1837, when barely of legal age, was sent to the Senate. This rapid political advancement indicated that he was regarded as an exceptionally able young man; but it also indicates that the constituency which thus recognized his ability must have been no less narrow-minded than himself. All his congressional course was in the line of political retrogression, and he uniformly voted with the southern members in favor of all pro-slavery and other mistaken acts. He ardently approved the annexation of Texas, and was in such cordial sympathy with President Polk concerning the Mexican war, that he enlisted in one of the earliest volunteer regiments. He was shortly after made Colonel of the Ninth regiment, and was commissioned Brigadier-General before he departed for the seat of war. The appointment, however, was justified by his bravery and wisdom on the battle-field; and at the close of the war he returned to his home and his law practice covered with laurels.

In 1852, he was nominated by the Democrats for the Presidency, and elected by an overwhelming majority. In his inaugural address he foreshadowed his future blind policy. He argued that Slavery was recognized by the

Constitution; that therefore the Fugitive Slave Law was right, and should be carried out; and he denounced all agitation of the slavery question. Among the most important events of his administration were the repeal of the Missouri compromise, the organization of the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, under the Kansas-Nebraska Act, and the negotiation by Commodore Perry of our first treaty with the hitherto unknown country of Japan. It was about this time that the troubles between the anti-slavery and pro-slavery citizens of Kansas began; and on January 24, 1856, President Pierce sent a message to Congress declaring the formation of a Free-State government in Kansas an act of rebellion. The President's course in relation to the border troubles, as they were then called, gave great offense, and justly, to a very large part of the North, although anti-slavery tenets were then by no means popular. There is little doubt, however, that his evident southern proclivities helped to defeat Pierce for renomination; for sectional feeling, which resulted later in civil war, was already beginning to run high. As long as he remained the Executive, Pierce did his utmost to prevent the new States, Kansas especially, from being free, and when he retired, on March 4, 1857, he left the way open for his weak-kneed successor, James Buchanan, to do the same.

After leaving the White House, Pierce made a protracted European tour, and returned to New Hampshire about

the beginning of the Rebellion. During its progrsss he declared in a public speech his entire sympathy with the South. He passed into a retirement which became practically oblivion, and died at Concord, October 8, 1869.

Personally he was amiable, courteous, and refined, and much liked by his intimate friends ; but his peculiar bias prevented him from comprehending both sides of a question.

CHAPTER XXXI.

JAMES BUCHANAN, FIFTEENTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

An Unpopular Administration.—James Buchanan's Early History.—Sent to Congress at Twenty-nine.—The Weakest of Presidents.—His Total Inadequacy for the Great Emergency in which He was Placed.—Shrewd for His Own Interest.—An Admirer and Follower of Jackson Without His Will or Courage.—The Anti-Slavery Excitement in Kansas.—The Cause of the Civil War Inherent in the Constitution.—The Nation on the Eve of a Conflict.—Admission by Buchanan of the Right of the Southern States to Secede.—A Pitiful Spectacle of Imbecility.—General Relief at the End of His Administration.

No administration, unless it was John Tyler's, has ever been so unpopular as James Buchanan's. Odious throughout the North on account of what was declared to be his cowardly and treacherous yielding to the outrageous and rebellious acts of the South, it was, towards its close, bitterly condemned by the South, which accused him of perfidy to them in sustaining the unconstitutional aggressions of the North. He shared the fate of most men who, in times of fierce dissension between two great parties, try, in a feeble and vacillating way, to avoid

offending either, and end by offending both. The best that can be said of Buchanan is that, placed in a most difficult and critical situation, which would have tested the powers of the strongest man, he was found weak and irresolute, and shamefully inadequate to the vast emergency.

His father was a Scotch-Irishman, who had immigrated to this country without means or prospects, and had married, soon after arrival, Elizabeth Speer, a farmer's daughter. They sought their fortunes in an unsettled region of Pennsylvania; the young husband cutting down the trees, and building a log hut for their future home. There, at the base of the eastern ridge of the Alleghanies, in Franklin County, James was born, April 22d, 1791, and spent eight years. He died near Lancaster in June, 1868. His father, who, like most of his race, was industrious, shrewd, and thrifty, prospered in a humble fashion, and removed to the village of Mercersburg, where the boy was sent to school. He showed great aptitude and native talents, and entered Dickinson College at Carlisle at fourteen, and, four years later, was graduated with distinction. Like almost every other President, he took to law at Lancaster, and began practice when he had attained his majority. He is reported to have been tall, well-formed, vigorous, exuberant of spirits, and fond of manly sports. Very diligent and ambitious, he advanced rapidly, gained a lucrative prac-

tice, and at thirty was ranked as one of the first lawyers in the State.

Having been sent to Congress at twenty-nine, he remained there for ten years, and when he had reached forty, he retired from business, having acquired what was then regarded as wealth. In politics he began as a Federalist; but he favored the war of 1812, and even volunteered for the defense of Baltimore. Subsequently he turned Republican, properly Democrat, largely through his admiration of General Jackson, and from sympathy with his doctrines,—the kind of admiration, it is presumed, which a flabby nature has for a strong one. In 1831, he was appointed by the President Minister to Russia, and discharged his duties faithfully and acceptably. On his return, two years later, he was chosen to the United States Senate, where he came into contact with Silas Wright, Calhoun, Webster, and Clay, the last of whom never liked him, regarding him as a timid, self-seeking, time-serving man. He almost invariably reflected the views of the administration, and was accused by his opponents of obsequiousness and subserviency. He defended Jackson for his course in removing from office all who would not support him, or were of different politics—a course that has been incalculably mischievous to the government, and for which Jackson is entirely responsible—and insisted that it was not only justifiable, but commendable. This greatly

pleased Jackson, who never could distinguish between flattery and sincere appreciation, and who considered every man his enemy that had a will of his own. Consistently with his peculiar character, he sustained the administration of Van Buren, and ardently advocated the annexation of Texas. He was returned to the Senate, and kept his seat until Polk assigned him (1845) a place in his Cabinet as Secretary of State.

Buchanan naturally employed all his energy against the Wilmot Proviso, by which Slavery should be excluded from all territory obtained from Mexico, and was continually nervous and troubled about the anti-slavery movement, at that time steadily growing. From first to last, he was always actively on the side of the peculiar institution, and was secretly despised therefor by not a few of the most zealous southerners. Conservative to a point of timorousness, he was ever in dread of a dissolution of the Union. He did not think the North could do too much cringing and skulking to placate the insolent and arrogant South. He was willing that the Republic should be materially preserved by the sacrifice of all principle on the part of the Free States. In a speech in the lower house, he said, "I shall forever avoid any expression, the direct tendency of which must be to create sectional jealousies, and at length disunion,—that worst and last of all political calamities." Discussing the admission of Michigan and Arkansas, in the Senate,

he declared, "The older I grow, the more I am inclined to be a states-rights man." He maintained, concerning petitions about Slavery, that "Congress had no power to legislate on the subject," and that the body "might as well undertake to interfere with Slavery under a foreign government as in any of the States where it now exists." More southern than the Southerners, he was without their motive of material interest, and without their excuse of local tradition and sectional prejudice. Is it strange, therefore, that in 1856 he was put forward as their candidate for the presidency, against John C. Fremont, the first Republican candidate of the new order, and Millard Fillmore, Native American? As was said at the time, they could not find a more willing servant, or a more pliant tool. He received at the Cincinnati convention one hundred and seventy-four electoral votes out of three hundred and three, and became the fifteenth President.

Extraordinary excitement was produced, the first year of his administration, by an effort to introduce Slavery into Kansas, where civil war was waged. He was, of course, an aider and abettor of the South. He argued in his message that the Lecompton Constitution, which was directly in the interest of the pro-slavery men, should be adopted; but Congress resisted, and Kansas came in free. He wanted to buy Cuba for the advantage of slavery; he filled his Cabinet with Democrats and

their friends, and negatively, at least, helped the cause of secession by every means in his power. Everybody saw the long-deferred, but never-settled sectional conflict at hand; that the contest which had been suppressed and glossed over by the Constitution would, after nearly a century, have to be fought out.

The founders of the Republic had secured peace by bequeathing the unavoidable battle to their posterity. It was in 1861 as it had been in 1789. That was the armistice; this was the resumption of hostilities. It was Federalist and anti-Federalist then; it was Unionist and Disunionist now; but, although the words were changed, the meaning was the same. The cause of the civil strife was the outward agreement and the inward disagreement of the Constitution. Washington perceived its defects, but believed it the best that could be devised, the sole alternative for anarchy and civil war. And so it was; but the Civil War came and was bound to come in due season. America compromised then, and kept compromising for two generations, and the result of the compromise was a mighty fraternal struggle which for bloodshed and horror has never been equaled. The cause of the conflict was the hollow compromise of the Constitution. Its framers were most thoughtful, prudent, sagacious. They did all that they could. They saw the present; they could not perceive the future. And now that future is, fortunately, behind us; and we as a people

are, for the first time, united by common losses, common sufferings, and common sorrows.

As Buchanan's term drew toward a close, the people of the North became more and more aroused against him for his constant concessions to the slave power. The anti-slavery feeling grew more and more intense, and culminated in the nomination of Abraham Lincoln for President, who had given assurances that he would be the Executive of the whole country. The South pronounced him a sectional candidate, and declared it would go out if he should be elected. It had said the same thing about Fremont. It had been threatening to dissolve the Union so long — it had always kept political control by menacing the North — that the Free States had finally got tired of hearing the threat. They were anxious to learn whether it was in earnest or not. If not, they ought to know it; if in earnest, they should know it also. The knowledge could not come too soon. The disrupture might as well be then as at any time—better, indeed. So they elected Lincoln, and the disintegration began.

Buchanan admitted the right of the Southern States to secede, and held that Congress had no power to prevent them. He sat, nevertheless, in his bewilderment, and saw the arms of the Republic stolen, the national forts surrendered, State after State discarding its allegiance. There was no remedy for it, in his flaccid mind. He did not even remonstrate. All his censure was for

those averse to the extension of slavery. His words were: "The long-continued interference of the Northern people with Slavery in the South has at length produced its natural effects." It was a pitiful spectacle of imbecility. How differently Andrew Jackson, whom he had assumed to admire, would have acted in his place! He would have done something, and something decisive. He would have taken the responsibility. He would have taught the Rebels a lesson at the outset. The War would at least have begun earlier.

Two months before the inauguration of Lincoln, the South had prepared itself for an aggressive struggle; had strengthened its position by seizing government property, and the head of the nation had not lifted a finger against them. If he had been hired to coöperate with them, he could hardly have served them more effectually. Many conciliatory measures were proposed by the North; but the Rebels rejected them. They evidently scorned the government, as they had reason to, with such an unexecutive Executive. Buchanan seemed concerned only with the date of the 4th of March, when his administration would end, and his responsibility for overt acts would cease. It did end, and the North breathed freer, and experienced a sense of relief and of diminished shame that there would be no more of him forever.

CHAPTER XXXII.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, SIXTEENTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Contrast Between Lincoln and Buchanan.—His Lonely Boyhood and Severe Youth.—The Cause of his Detestation of Slavery.—The Campaign with Douglas in Illinois Introduces him to the Nation.—The Irresistible Magnetism of the Rail-Splitter.—His Nomination at Chicago.—Deplorable Condition of the Country at the Time of his Inauguration.—His Resolve to Preserve the Union at all Hazards.—Distressing Effect of his Assassination.—His Personal Appearance and Power of Persuasion.—How the Future will Regard the Great President.

There has scarcely ever been a greater contrast between two men in power than between James Buchanan and Abraham Lincoln. They were antipodes. One was an embodiment of feebleness, the other an incarnation of strength. The best of Buchanan was outside; the best of Lincoln inside. You had to know one to measure his weakness, and the other to understand his greatness. That such men should succeed one another is one of the antitheses in which History and Nature delight.

The sixteenth President, who is as certain of lasting fame as Washington, was born in Hardin (now Larue) County, Ky., February 12, 1809, his ancestors having gone from Pennsylvania to Virginia, whence they had removed to Kentucky. His father, Thomas Lincoln, and his mother, Nancy Hanks, were Virginians. The childhood of Abraham Lincoln was lonely, sterile, and full of hardship. At eight years of age, his parents went to Spencer County, Ind., and he remembered how severe the journey was, and how much he endured in making it. Two years later, he lost his mother,—a bitter loss which he never ceased to mourn. She had taught him to read, and did much to form his character, young as he was. Among the few books that he had and prized in his boyhood were "Robinson Crusoe," "Pilgrim's Progress," and a "Life of Washington," which left a marked impression on his mind, and from which he could repeat long passages after he had become a man. At twenty-one he went to Macon County, Illinois. He volunteered for the defense of the frontier settlements on the breaking out of the Black Hawk War in 1832, but it came to an end before he had seen any service. In the same year, he advocated the cause of Henry Clay against that of General Jackson, and was sorely troubled at the former's defeat, having formed an enthusiastic admiration for him. In 1834, he was elected to the Legislature, and reëlected in 1836 and 1838. He had already formed

decided opinions on Slavery, and had proclaimed that it was founded on injustice and bad policy. He had seen slaves chained and whipped when he was a young man at New Orleans, and he hated slavery ever after. Admitted to the bar, he began to practice at Springfield, Ill., in 1837, and five years after he married Mary Todd, daughter of Robert S. Todd of Lexington, Ky.

Having become prominent as a Whig in his own State, he was sent to Congress in 1846, and while there always acted on the side of freedom. But his reputation was local until he had been nominated, in 1858, by the Republican Convention of Illinois for the United States Senate in opposition to the reëlection of Stephen A. Douglas. Lincoln challenged his adversary to canvass the State, and they did so, speaking in joint debate seven times. It was a remarkable campaign, and attracted national attention. The main question was on the admission of Kansas as a Free or Slave State. Douglas's assumptions of superiority, and allusions to his opponent's early poverty and humble employment, were received with entire good nature, and with such humorous turns and telling retorts that the Little Giant was put at disadvantage. Indeed, skillful and brilliant debater though he was, he was no match for Lincoln, whose homely common sense and sagacious mind had far more influence with the people.

The rail-splitter, as he was called—he had often split

rails to build cabins—was one of the most persuasive and effective speakers. Nobody who had ever heard him once, whatever his prejudice beforehand, could fail to like him. He was so simple, so fair, so direct, so convincing, that he would always carry his audience with him. It is doubtful if he has ever had his equal in this respect in the United States. "To listen to Lincoln," said a prominent politician, "is to be on his side. There is no resisting him or his conclusions."

Lincoln actually compelled Douglas during that memorable campaign to array himself against the Dred-Scott Decision, and this so enraged the extreme Southern Democrats that they refused to support him for President in 1860. They nominated John C. Breckinridge instead, and this frustrated Douglas's hopes and burning ambition. Lincoln was defeated by a peculiar arrangement of the legislative districts, notwithstanding that he had a plurality of more than 4,000 votes over his rival. But the Illinois campaign made him President.

In 1860, he delivered a strong and eloquent speech on the vital question of slavery at the Cooper Institute in New York, and then went to New England, where he also spoke most effectively. The Chicago Convention denied in its platform the right of Congress, of a Territorial Legislature, or of any individual or individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States, and on the third ballot nominated Lincoln

as the Republican candidate. Wm. H. Seward's friends were greatly disappointed, for they had been confident of his success, particularly after he had led Lincoln on the first two ballots; but they soon became reconciled. The canvass was most enthusiastic and demonstrative, and the feeling all over the country was that we were on the eve of a crisis. Lincoln received 180 electoral votes, Breckenridge 72, John Bell 39, and Douglas 12.

When Lincoln had taken his seat, seven States had formally seceded, and seven more were contemplating secession. The North was, thanks to the administration of Buchanan, deprived of all the requirements of war; the small army and navy had been purposely scattered; the treasury was empty. The Free States had scarcely decided what course to take when the attack by South Carolina on Sumter forced civil war upon them. Then they were unanimous in raising money and men; they were ablaze with patriotism; they were as belligerent as the South, though less boastful and confident. For four years war raged fiercely, success alternating with defeat. There were many despondent hours and dark days, and the President was urged to various measures for the good of the country, which he declined. Fault was found with him in various quarters; he was termed slow, obstinate, wrong-headed; but the end proved his consummate wisdom. He was a born leader of men. He understood his fellow-countrymen, the drift of events,

and the needs of the time as no one else understood them. He steadily refused to proclaim Emancipation until the occasion was ripe (September 22, 1862), and he was the man who knew when that would be.

The Fugitive Slave Law was repealed in June, 1864, and, about that date, Lincoln said in an interview: "There have been men base enough to propose to me to return our black warriors of Port Hudson and Olustee, and thus win the respect of the masters they fought. Should I do so, I should deserve to be damned in time and eternity. Come what may, I will keep my faith with friend and foe. My enemies pretend I am now carrying on this war for the sole purpose of abolition. So long as I am President, it shall be carried on for the sole purpose of restoring the Union. But no human power can subdue this Rebellion without the use of the emancipation policy, and every other policy calculated to weaken the moral and physical forces of the Rebellion."

The war, which had cost a million of lives, and millions on millions of money, practically closed with the fall of Richmond, April 9, 1865. But, while the popular rejoicing was at its height, the assassination of the great President shocked the nation, and filled its heart with mourning. No single event has, it is safe to say, ever so filled the country with anguish and a sense of bereavement. The whole people were stunned and distressed beyond expression. Lincoln had grown upon

them steadily and rapidly until they had all learned to admire, to trust, to love, and to revere him. He had become to every man, woman, and child as a near and dear personal friend. He was a most exalted character, one of the noblest representatives of humanity, a credit to his kind, an almost matchless man. He was the Father of his Country as much as Washington had been. The one gave us a Republic: the other preserved it, when assailed by domestic enemies. As Emerson puts it, "By his courage, his justice, his even temper, his fertile counsel, his humanity, he stood a heroic figure in the center of a heroic epoch."

As time goes on, his reputation will grow. We are still too near him to measure his greatness. He was such a man as Nature produces only at long intervals; he was of the grandest type of men, of whom there have been few in the world. Sprung from the humblest, a mere backwoodsman, without education, training, or any kind of assistance or advantage, he learned, as by intuition, to use his native language, the greatest of all tongues, as the ripest scholars could not. In force and fitness of expression he has hardly been surpassed. His letters and speeches are models, the classics of unstudied effort, the oracles of the popular heart. Queer, raw, angular, awkward, homely of feature, no one could be long in his presence and hear him speak without feeling his unquestionable superiority. One forgot his physical

defects and his strange uncouthness in the power and spirit of his wonderful individuality. He was as good as he was great, as broad as he was tender. He will not be forgotten; he is unforgetable. Even if America should decline and decay, he would make it be remembered. He will always be recalled as the great American. If ever mortal were, Abraham Lincoln is booked for immortality. His fame is fixed in the center of ages. The future will revere him as an ideal of humanity.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

ANDREW JOHNSON AND ULYSSES S. GRANT, SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Johnson's Early Life and Hard Struggles.—A Tailor who was more than the Ninth Part of a Man.—His Views of Slavery and Secession.—His Personal Courage and its Good Effects Politically.—His Disagreement with Congress about Reconstruction.—The Impeachment Trial.—Grant in the Mexican War.—His Incompetency in Business.—Finding his Place in the Civil War.—His Extraordinary Success in the Field.—Called to Command the Army of the Potomac.—His Political Mistakes and Greed of Power.

Andrew Johnson's chief claim to distinction in the future will probably be that he was elected Vice-President on the ticket with Abraham Lincoln, and that he succeeded him as President, after his assassination, April 15, 1865. His early life was very creditable, denoting what industry, energy, and perseverance may accomplish against extreme poverty, want of education, and every kind of obstacle. Born at Raleigh, N. C., December 29, 1808, he learned the trade of a tailor,—his father, who died when he was a child, had been a constable, a sexton,

and a porter,—and followed it for many years at the little town of Greenville, Tenn. He was a ragged urchin, a street Arab, until he was ten years old, supported by the manual labor of his mother, who belonged to that most unfortunate class known as the poor whites of the South. He could not even read then; indeed, he did not learn the alphabet until some time after. At eighteen, he married a girl of intelligence and considerable education, who became his instructor, reading to him while he worked at his humble calling, and teaching him in the evening arithmetic, geography, and history.

He gained considerable influence over mechanics and manual laborers, and by the time he was of age had taken quite an interest in politics, to which he adhered through life. He ardently espoused their cause, and arrayed himself against the rich and ruling class, so strong and arrogant in the days of Slavery. After filling several small local offices, he was chosen to the lower House of the Legislature. He was then twenty-seven, and proclaimed himself a Democrat of the Jacksonian school. In 1840 he took the stump for Martin Van Buren against Harrison, and became a ready and popular speaker with the kind of people he addressed. He was very fond of alluding to the fact of his being a mechanic and a wholly self-made man,—he never recovered from the habit,—and these constant allusions, whether in good taste or not, won over the common people. In 1843 he

was sent by the Democrats to Congress, and kept there for ten years, and in 1857 he was elected to the United States Senate.

In regard to Slavery, his views were those of a Southerner and a Democrat. He accepted it, and believed it protected by the Constitution, 'though he did not think it would last, or that it ought to, if it should endanger the Union. In the canvass of 1860, he supported Breckinridge, the candidate of the extreme Southerners; but when they threatened secession he opposed them, declaring any such attempt both unjust and madly foolish. He maintained that they should contend for their rights in the Union, not out of it; that to secede would ruin whatever prospects they might have. He boasted that he had voted and spoken against Lincoln, and spent money to prevent his election. But as time went on, he grew more and more inimical to the doctrine of State-Rights, and the action of the secession party. One day, a mob entered the railway car in which he was returning home, for the purpose of lynching him; but when he drew his pistol, the mob retired in disorder. Johnson was, personally, very brave, as he had often proved, and his bravery, doubtless, preserved him from frequent assaults. The most furious Rebels had a sense of prudence which prevented them from attacking a man they hated, when they knew he would defend himself desperately. Not daring to molest him, they were contented to burn him in

effigy, which pleased them, and did him no harm. His wife and child were driven from their home, and his nine slaves confiscated. Having been appointed Military Governor of Tennessee by Lincoln, he discharged his difficult and dangerous duties ably and fearlessly, exercising a most favorable influence in the State.

Elected Vice-President in 1864, he was at first very severe on the enemies of the Government, but afterward changed his policy to one of conciliation, which rendered him very unpopular in the North. He became President at Lincoln's death, and was soon involved with Congress because he was inimical to their views of reconstruction and the rights of freedmen. He vetoed various acts which were passed over his head, and put himself in so antagonistic a position to the body that its members decided to impeach him. Charged, among other offences, with violating the Act regulating the tenure of certain civil offices—he had suspended Secretary Stanton from the war office without the consent of the Senate—he was formally impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors. At the close of the trial, thirty-five Senators voted him guilty, and nineteen not guilty; and as a two-thirds vote was required to convict, Johnson escaped by just one vote. He declared, in his defense, that his policy of reconstruction had been outlined and agreed upon by President Lincoln and his Cabinet, and that Stanton himself had pronounced the tenure-of-office Act unconstitu-

tional. His undignified, inconsistent and intemperate course had forfeited the esteem in which the Nation had held him, and he went out of office with general approval. Still seeking place and power, he was elected United States Senator in January, 1875; but he died, at sixty-six, the next July, of paralysis. Andrew Johnson was one of the men who had lived too long for his own fame or for his country's good.

ULYSSES S. GRANT.

Ulysses S. Grant is a notable instance of a man who does not find the work he is best fitted for until his youth has passed. But for the Civil War, and the opportunities it gave him of displaying his military talents, it is entirely probable that he would have been to-day unrecognized and obscured. If any one had predicted, on the election of Lincoln, that Grant would be one of the greatest Generals of the war and President of the United States, he would have been laughed at. No one seems to have suspected that Grant was in any way remarkable until he had demonstrated it by deeds. It is, indeed, doubtful if he had ever suspected it himself. But he is so quiet and reticent that it will never be known what opinion Grant entertains of Grant. It may be that he was more surprised than anybody else when he made the discovery of his own heroship. He may have questioned his own identity or have thought, like the Irishman, that he had been changed during the night.

Grant is, as his name indicates, of Scotch extraction, but remotely. His parents were both Pennsylvanians, though he is a native of Point Pleasant, Clermont County, Ohio, having been born April 27, 1822. Having received a partial education at a common school, he entered West Point as a cadet at seventeen, and was graduated four years later, standing twenty-first in a class of thirty-nine, which is not a flattering record. He went with his regiment as Lieutenant to Mexico, and distinguished himself in divers engagements, having been breveted Captain for gallantry at Chapultepec. After the capture of the city of Mexico, he returned with his regiment, married Julia T. Dent of St. Louis, sister of one of his classmates, and at thirty-two resigned his commission. He went upon a farm belonging to his father-in-law, near St. Louis; he was a real-estate agent in that city, and a clerk for his father, then a leather merchant at Galena, Ill., but did not prosper. He appeared to be unpractical, indolent, careless, and was generally regarded as a ne'er-do-well. It is said that he was never able to provide for his family, which would have come to want but for his father-in-law, who often regretted that his daughter was the wife of so incompetent a person.

When the Civil War had broken out, he was one of the first to enlist, and was elected Captain of a company of Illinois volunteers, who reported for duty at Springfield. He was afterward made Colonel of an Illinois regiment,

the twenty-first, and became in two months a Brigadier. His first battle was at Belmont, Mo., claimed by both sides, where he had a horse shot under him. In conjunction with the gunboats he ascended the Tennessee, and Fort Henry fell into our hands, but mainly through the flotilla. He attacked Fort Donelson on the Cumberland and forced it to surrender, February 15, 1862, with some fourteen thousand prisoners. This, the first great success of the war for the Union army, filled the North with enthusiasm; gave Grant a high reputation and the rank of Major-General. General Albert Sidney Johnston attacked Grant April 6th, at Shiloh, on the Tennessee, with far superior force; drove back the Union troops, and took several thousand prisoners. The next day, Grant having combined with General Buell, renewed the fight, and won a victory, General Johnston being killed. After a siege of six weeks, he took Vicksburg—July 4, 1863,—and thirty thousand prisoners. This brilliant achievement turned the admiring eyes of the North upon him, and advanced him to the rank of Major-General in the regular army. The following November he defeated Bragg at Missionary Ridge, near Chattanooga, and revealed himself as the proper man to take charge of the Army of the Potomac, which had never achieved any permanent success, but had experienced any number of reverses. His repeated and bloody engagements in Virginia (he was the only General of the Potomac who had ever forced and

continued the fighting) until he had obliged Lee to evacuate Richmond, and then to surrender at Appomatox, are too well known to require recapitulation. Every honor was heaped on Grant; he had conquered peace; he had crushed the Rebellion; he had preserved the Republic. It was thought fitting, therefore, to put him at the head of the government, and he was elected, 1868, the eighteenth President, against Horatio Seymour, receiving two hundred and fourteen electoral votes, and his competitor eighty.

Grant being in harmony with his cabinet and the majority of Congress, which Johnson had not been, the reconstruction of the States, lately in rebellion, steadily advanced. He declared himself in favor of the Fifteenth Amendment, forbidding the disfranchisement of any person on account of race or color; and the machinery of the government, disordered by the obstinacy of the previous Executive, again ran smooth. Grant was reëlected in 1872 against Horace Greeley, who had obtained the nomination of the Democrats as well as of the Liberal Republicans, greatly dissatisfied with Grant's administration. While they regarded some of Grant's measures as wise, they regarded other measures as very unwise. They had no reason, they said, to believe that a mere soldier, who had had no knowledge and no experience in political life, should be an acceptable President. He had been nominated on account of his sup-

posed availability which had been proved, and for that reason he was again put forward. His second term was more censured than the first. Nobody questioned his integrity or patriotism—these had been repeatedly tested in the field—but he often seemed indifferent and obstinate. He was sharply criticized for his excessive attachment to unworthy and unprincipled men whom he ranked as his friends. His confidence in them was pronounced excessive; he would believe, it was said, nothing against them; would not listen to those who wished for his own good and the good of the country to open his eyes. It would seem that Grant is not a judge of men. If he had been, he would not and could not have selected for office persons who constantly abused his trust, and filled his administration with scandals. Fidelity to friends may be an admirable trait in private citizens, but such fidelity in high officials, particularly when their friends are totally undeserving, is apt to become mischievous, and is always dangerous.

Grant has been criticised, too, for what has been called his lust of power. Many Republicans turned against him because of his desire for a third term. While there is no law against a third term, except the unwritten law which custom and precedent have made, the general feeling in the community is earnestly opposed to it. Grant's advocates asserted for months that he did not want it, but that it would be superfluous and foolish for him to

decline what had not been offered. Nevertheless, the outward indications were directly otherwise, and the Chicago convention of 1880 made it plain that he was once more a candidate of the most uncompromising and contumacious kind. This was pointed out by the Independents as a corroboration of their opinion, that Grant was greedy of gain and office, and that he felt, because he had beaten the Rebels, as if the Presidency were his by right, and the Nation could not do too much for him and his. They cited as evidence his willingness to take presents of any sort from anybody and everybody, and their energy of assertion unquestionably injured Grant in many quarters. It is said by those Independents and others that but for the late disgraceful failure of the firm in which the General was a partner, his name would again have been presented and urged at the recent Convention. It was never mentioned, and Grant's bitterest opponents now admit that the third-term ghost is forever laid. Grant's connection with Grant & Ward was most unfortunate, and while nobody has the hardihood to attempt to implicate him in its rascalities, his absolute ignorance of the character of the business of the house in which he was a partner, has given color to the charges of his unreserved faith in unworthy men, and of his defective judgment concerning them. But when everything has been said, the fact remains that General Grant continues to be widely esteemed, and to excite sincere

sympathy on account of his recent financial adversities from which a much inferior, though different order of man, would have been protected. All things considered, it would, perhaps, have been better for Grant, had he never entered into politics. But, despite the mistakes he has made in public life and out of it, the general feeling is that he has put the Nation under a debt of gratitude which it never can and does not wish to repay.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES, JAMES A. GARFIELD, AND CHESTER A. ARTHUR, NINETEENTH, TWENTIETH, AND TWENTY-FIRST PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Hayes as Lawyer, Politician, and Soldier.—Nominated because an Ohioan.—The Electoral Commission.—Great Outcry Against him, but Still a Creditable President.—Garfield's Hard Fight with Fortune at the Outset.—Ambition to be a Canal-Boat Captain.—His Career in the Army.—Leader of the House of Representatives.—His Admirable Equipment for Political Life.—His Nomination at Chicago Wholly Unexpected.—The National Sorrow at his Assassination.—Arthur Born in a Log Cabin, and Ruling in the White House.

Rutherford B. Hayes is of New England extraction—his parents were Vermonters—though an Ohioan by birthright, having been born at the town of Delaware, October 4, 1822. His father, who was in comfortable circumstances, and had a prosperous mercantile business at Brattleborough, suddenly decided, after the war of 1812, to go west. He had a fancy for Ohio, then regarded as the remote frontier, which, indeed, it was, and after a preliminary journey of inspection, he was so well pleased with the new region that he went back and brought his

family and household goods thither by forty days of most fatiguing travel in a covered wagon. His father, who set up a country store in the village, and conducted it profitably, died before Rutherford's birth, but left his family very well-off. The youth was graduated at Kenyon College, Gambier, at twenty, studied law, and began practice at twenty-three at Sandusky.

He afterward removed to Cincinnati, opened an office, and married Lucy W. Webb, daughter of a physician of Chillicothe. A staunch Republican in opinion, he was chosen City Solicitor, and grew prominent in local politics. Joining the Literary Club, he became a friend of a number of the members, among them Salmon P. Chase, John Pope, and Edward F. Noyes, who afterward obtained celebrity in the field and in the councils of the Nation. At the first call for troops, the Literary Club formed a military company with the name, Burnett Rifles, and offered its services to the government. Not less than seventy-five members became commissioned officers, more than half of these being lawyers. Hayes was made Major of the Twenty-third Ohio infantry, of which Stanley Matthews was Lieutenant-colonel, and William S. Rosecrans Colonel, and was assigned to duty in West Virginia. He was very energetic in campaigning, was wounded at South Mountain, and at the close of October was appointed a Brigadier, and early in 1865 a Major-General by brevet for gallant conduct in the field,

especially at Fisher's Hill and Cedar Creek. In the Autumn of 1864, he was sent to Congress from one of the Cincinnati districts, and was sent back two years later. Although he seldom participated in debate, he performed a deal of hard work, and was of more value than many of the glib talkers in the House. Having been chosen governor in 1867 against Judge Thurman, Democrat, he resigned his seat to go to Columbus, and was reëlected two years later.

Ten years ago, a rich uncle, Sardis Birchard, died and left him a handsome property. In 1875, having again been put forward as Governor, because it was considered very important that the Republicans should carry Ohio, he received a majority of 5,544 over William Allen. This naturally introduced him as a candidate for the Presidency, and the Ohio Republican Convention in March, 1876, recommended his nomination. At the National Convention in Cincinnati in June, before which Blaine and Roscoe Conkling were most prominent, it was found impossible to nominate either of them; consequently the opponents of Blaine united on Hayes, and on the seventh ballot gave him 384 votes; Blaine getting 351, and Benjamin H. Bristow 21. In the returns of the November elections, Samuel J. Tilden, it will be remembered, had 184 electoral votes, and Hayes 172 that were unquestioned. The votes of Florida and Louisiana, and one of the votes of Oregon were in dispute on different

grounds between the parties. There was much excitement over this, and there seemed to be no way of settling the matter. Finally, it was agreed that the decision should be left to a commission of five Senators, five Representatives, and five Judges of the Supreme Court. Three of the Senators were to be Republicans and two Democrats, three of the Representatives Democrats and two Republicans. Four Judges, two of each party, were elected, and these were to name a fifth, who was a Republican. Thus the commission stood eight Republicans to seven Democrats, and they all voted strictly in accordance with their party, declaring Hayes elected over Tilden by one vote, and he, Hayes, was duly inaugurated nineteenth President of the United States.

There was a great Democratic outcry that Hayes had not been honestly elected, and he was roundly abused for two years. But he preserved a firm, dignified demeanour, and conducted his administration to a creditable close. It was the fashion to ridicule him as unfit for the position; but the facts showed nothing of the kind. He is not a great or a brilliant man—few of our Presidents have been—but he was honest, modest, and conscientious in his high office, and is entitled to, and has won the esteem of unbiased citizens.

JAMES A. GARFIELD.

James A. Garfield was another of the self-made men who have become Presidents of the United States, although there was no more likelihood in his youth of such an occurrence than of his becoming the Mikado of Japan. Although self-made, he was better made than the great majority of men who are so called. He secured a regular education, and achieved scholarship in the teeth of the most formidable difficulties by a degree of industry, energy, and perseverance that is seldom equaled. He nobly won all the prizes that were his. They did not fall to his lot: he wrested them from reluctant fortune.

He was from Orange township, Cuyahoga County, Ohio —Ohio has become the Northern mother of Presidents— having been born there November 19, 1831. Some of his biographers aver that he was of noble English descent. His father, a native of Worcester, N. Y., had emigrated and made what he considered a home in the primeval forest, cutting down the trees, and building a log cabin for his family. To that uninviting place, four children had been bidden, James being the youngest—they might not have come voluntarily—and participated with their parents in the desperate struggle for existence, inevitable in such a region. Everything was of the rudest. They lived little better than savages. The cabin was without windows or doors,—holes serving for the purpose —and two or three acres of cleared land furnishing the

grain, and the woods the game on which they subsisted. In such an abode the future President cut wood, dug up stumps, watched cattle, and tilled landed until he was twelve years old. His father died when he was a baby, and he might have starved except for his elder brother and his mother—her maiden name was Eliza Ballou—who labored night and day to keep the wolf from the door. A relative of Abram Garfield, who lived in the neighborhood, pitied their poverty, and aided them to the extent of his limited ability.

James does not seem to have been different from other boys. He showed no precocious talents, or, in fact, talents of any sort until he had reached his teens. His first ambition was to be the Captain of a canal boat; but he never got any further than to drive a mule on the tow-path on the Ohio canal. He was fond of reading, and as he went to Cleveland frequently to sell wood or buy provisions, he had opportunities to get books. A nomadic teacher and preacher whom he had met, inspired him with a desire for education, and by practicing all sorts of self-denial, he was enabled to attend an academy in the adjoining township of Chester. In one of the classes there he made the acquaintance of Lucretia Rudolph, who afterward became his wife. He subsequently went to the Eclectic Institute, now Hiram College, where he was fitted for Williams College, being graduated at twenty-five. Returning to Hiram, he taught there for a

while, and was in a short while appointed its President. He also studied law, of course—nearly every public man in the Republic is or has been a lawyer—and was admitted to the bar. Politics likewise engaged his attention, and he was sent by the Republicans to the State Senate, where he exhibited decided ability.

At the beginning of the war, he entered the field as colonel of the 42d Ohio volunteers, and was ordered to Kentucky. He defeated Humphrey Marshall at Paintville with a much inferior force, and drove him out of the State, receiving therefor a brigadiership at an earlier age —thirty—than any other Union soldier. He afterward served at Shiloh, Corinth, and in Alabama, and in 1863 was appointed chief of staff of the army of the Cumberland under Rosecrans. For meritorious conduct at Chichamauga he was made a Major-General. He went to Congress the same year; was reëlected eight times, and after Blaine had been transferred to the Senate—1876—he was acknowledged to be the Republican leader of the House. Garfield had become a diligent student and a tireless worker, and did such excellent work on committees as to earn a national reputation. No man in the country advanced more intellectually from the time he entered Congress until he stepped into the Executive Mansion. He was by temperament, training, and ambition a leader. He appeared to be at the time of his death the national chief of the Republican party, and he would no doubt

have kept the place, had he lived. He was an able speaker, acquainted with finance, railways, the public needs, and such political questions, not to speak of his knowledge of human nature, as a man in his position ought to be, and he went to the bottom of things.

In January, 1880, he was elected to the National Senate from Ohio, and at the National Convention in June, which he attended at a delegate, he was nominated to the Presidency on the thirty-sixth ballot. Having gone to Chicago to support John Sherman, he had no thought of his own nomination, for he was not a candidate. Grant and Blaine were most conspicuous before the Convention, and most of Grant's opponents at the last went over to Garfield. He received in November the votes of nearly all the Northern States. No one can forget the sad day when Guiteau, from anger at not getting an office, and from morbid love of notoriety, shot the President, or the still sadder day when he died. The eighty days in which his life trembled in the balance, were days of such anxiety, compassion, and sorrow throughout the land as had never before been felt. And when he breathed his last, the whole Republic mourned as if it had sustained a personal bereavement of the nearest and dearest; and thousands and tens of thousands are still unresigned to a stroke of destiny so needlessly cruel.

CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

Chester A. Arthur is the fourth Vice-President who has become President by the death of the Chief Magistrate, and two of the deaths, strange to say, have been assassinations in a land that has an instinctive horror of assassins. Before Harrison's decease, it used to be said by politicians, "It matters little whom we nominate for Vice-President. A Vice-President is nothing but President of the Senate; he can do no harm, and very little good. Almost any man will answer for that office." The experience of forty odd years has taught us the contrary. We have learned that an American President is as mortal as any of his fellows, and that Vice-Presidents are very uncertain. Not one of the Vice-Presidents, Arthur excepted, redeemed the expectations formed of them; and two of them rendered themselves odious and infamous to the party that had put them in power. Fillmore, the best of the three that are dead, made himself so unpopular by approving of the Fugitive Slave Law that he never could have been elected again. Arthur has gained a repute at the head of the Nation which he certainly did not have as the holder of the second place. When nominated, he was not generally approved; he was believed to be too much of a politician, and too little else. It was understood that he had been put on the ticket with a view to carrying New York, and that this constituted

his principal claim. Following his election, his rampant "stalwartism," his over-anxiety to serve Conkling at Albany, after his resignation from the Senate, was harshly and justly commented on. But when Garfield died, he acted with delicacy and discretion, and has so acted ever since. His views have been broad and statesman-like, his bearing dignified, his policy enlightened. Nobody will say that he has not been a good President. He will go out of office with honors that, when he entered it, were not his. This is no light praise. And more; he has removed the doubt and apprehension that have been associated with Vice-Presidential succession.

Arthur is the son of a Baptist clergyman from the North of Ireland, who had settled in Eastern Canada, and had, with unconscious forecast, removed just across the border, to give his eldest boy a geographical chance to be President of the United States. He was born at the hamlet of Fairfield in a log cabin; was one of five children, whom his father, preaching for $350 a year in an old barn, could hardly afford to have. But families were not then regarded financially, nor were they the dispensable luxuries that they are now, particularly in large and expensive cities. The poor clergyman was obliged to eke out his necessary expenses by manual labor in field or shop, and even when his circumstances

improved, was but an itinerant pulpiteer, continually perplexed with making both ends meet.

Chester Arthur, who is a polished man of society, and noted as an elegant dinner-giver, must contrast sometimes the sumptuousness of these days with the Spartan plainness of the days of his boyhood, spent in the rude school-house of the rural districts of the time. He was only eighteen when he was graduated at Union College, Schenectady. After teaching a while in his native State, he was admitted to the bar at twenty-eight, and settled in New York City. His first case that made any noise was the Lemmon Slave Case, in which he was attorney for the people, and Wm. M. Evarts leading counsel on the same side. They maintained that eight slaves whom their master, Jonathan Lemmon of Virginia, had brought to New York, were made free by his voluntary act. Charles O'Conor and Henry L. Clinton appeared for Lemmon; but after various appeals, Arthur and Evarts' position was sustained. Arthur acted as counsel for a colored woman who had been expelled (1856) from the horse-cars on account of her color, and gained a verdict for damages for his client, which secured equal rights for negroes in all public vehicles. One of the first Republicans, he has always acted with the party. He was appointed Engineer-in-Chief by Governor Morgan in 1861, and, the year following, Quartermaster-General of the forces of

the State (whence his title), and discharged his duties admirably. For seven years he was Collector of the Port of New York, and was removed by Hayes because he thought the office was used as a political power in the State. He then resumed the practice of law, but has always been a very active,—perhaps too active,—politician. He is now, as every one knows, the twenty-first President of the Republic.